

THE CHRONICLE OF NOVALESE: TRANSLATION, TEXT AND LITERARY
ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Elizabeth Artemis Clark: The Chronicle of Novalese: Translation, Text and Literary Analysis

(Under the direction of Robert G. Babcock)

This dissertation is a study of the *Chronicle of Novalese* (*Chronicon Novaliciense*), an 11th- century history of the monastery in Novalesa, Italy. There have been two major modern editions of the *Chronicle* (Bethmann, Cipolla), and one translation of the work into Italian (Alessio). The dissertation presents the first full English translation of the *Chronicle*, the Latin text, and an analysis of the *Chronicle*'s relationship with the 9th- (10th-) century epic poem *Waltharius*. Previously, there have been only a few English translations of brief sections of the *Chronicle*, taken primarily from Book II. I offer the complete English translation of all five books and the appendix in order to facilitate a broader access to the work as a whole for both the general and the academic reader. I include the Latin text, following that of Bethmann, and collating it against the lone manuscript, a *rotulus*, or roll, housed in the State Archives of Turin. I examine the connection between Book II of the *Chronicle* and the *Waltharius*. Employing a close comparison of the relevant lines of the two works, I find that the anonymous chronicler changed the epic poem in deliberate and meaningful ways. With these changes, the chronicler has expanded for his monastery the story of the epic hero Walter, who, according to the chronicler's new narrative, became a monk at Novalese. Given the analysis of these changes, I suggest that there is value in a further examination

of the chronicler's methods in his treatment of the other portions of the *Chronicle*, which include small episodes concerning women, various accounts of political pressures on the monastery, stories and legends of the area, and tales of Charlemagne.

To Sara Mack
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INTRODUCTION

The Chronicle of Novalese

Elizabeth A. Clark

The monastery of Novalese lies in the Susa Valley in northwest Italy. It was founded in 726, destroyed by the Saracens in 906, and rebuilt and restored to the monks by the abbot Gezo in 1000. Shortly thereafter, in the mid-11th century, one of Novalese's monks compiled a history of his monastery. The lone manuscript of this history, known as the *Chronicon Novaliciense* and considered to be the autograph (at least in part), was housed at Novalese until 1693, and is now stored in the State Archives of Turin.¹ It is in the form of a parchment roll, a *rotulus*, containing 28 leaves of irregular lengths sewn end to end. The *rotulus* is 11.7 meters long, and varies in width from 8.5 to 11 cm., with an average width of 10 cm.

The roll today is not complete. Its five books survive in varying states of completeness, and each book contains chapter titles which do not always align with the extant chapters. The titles themselves are separate from the chapter text and are listed as indices at the beginning of each book. Some titles are numbered; some are not. Books I and IV of the *Chronicle* survive in a fragmentary state, due to the loss of some of the original leaves. Books II and III are complete. We possibly have Book V in its entirety, but the chapter titles of Book V do not align with its chapters, and the book ends fairly

¹ Archivio di Stato di Torino (nuova collocazione: 'Museo', s.n.).

abruptly, suggesting to some scholars that the *Chronicle* was not completed (that is to say, Book V might be unfinished; it does not appear to be fragmentary—there do not appear to be leaves lost from Book V).² The manuscript also contains at the end, as an appendix, a series of documents. These documents are marked with symbols in such a way that they could be inserted at specific places within the *Chronicle*, and there is good reason to think that the author wished them to be inserted at these places.³ The author is anonymous, but was a monk of the community, and says in the *Chronicle* that he was born of noble parents and moved with his family among Breme, Pavia, Turin, and Novalese.⁴

When the *Chronicle* was in a more complete state, it was seen by early modern scholars, who summarized some of the now lost passages. In the 16th century, Filbert Pignon saw the *rotulus*, but reported only on the first two leaves. It was shortly thereafter excerpted by Guglielmo Baldessano, who saw it when it was already missing some of its leaves, those which encompassed the first six chapters. It was edited three times between the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, by Combetti in 1843,⁵ Bethmann in 1846,⁶ and Cipolla in 1901.⁷ There is a more recent edition with Italian translation by Gian Carlo Alessio in 1982.⁸ There are a few brief modern studies, only a handful in English.⁹

² Bethmann, “Hinc apparere videtur, opus non fuisse absolutum...” p. 75.

³ Combetti placed these sections within the text in his edition. In their editions, Bethmann and Cipolla left them at the end of the *Chronicle*, as an appendix, as they appear in the manuscript.

⁴ *Chronicle*, Book V.

⁵ Combetti, C. *Chronicon Novaliciense*. Taurino [Ex regio typographeo].

⁶ Bethmann, L. *Chronicon Novaliciense*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores 7.

⁷ Cipolla, C. Monumenta novaliciense vetustiora: VIII. Chronicon.

⁸ Alessio, G. *Cronaca di Novalesa*.

Previous assessments of the *Chronicle* have been decidedly negative, asking of the text what could be considered the “wrong” questions: Is the *Chronicle* historically accurate; is it written in elegant Latin; is it actually chronological? As the answer to these questions has generally been found to be, “No,” the *Chronicle* often has been dismissed as barbaric Latin¹⁰ and bad history,¹¹ disorganized,¹² and naïve.¹³ Literary historians have also asked unhelpful questions of the text, questions particularly focused on its sources, for example the epic poem *Waltharius*. Like medieval historians, literary scholars have tended to be dismissive of the *Chronicle*’s value outside of elucidating its sources.¹⁴

There has never been a full translation of the *Chronicle* in English, and Chapter 1, the bulk of the present dissertation, is the first effort at producing one. The translation aims to provide broader access to the work to a wider audience of scholars. Those who have made more recent use of the *Chronicle* have tended to cite only selected passages

⁹ E.g., Geary and van Houts, who both focus on the “Petronilla” story. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, gives a translation (p.71) of II.13.1-10; van Houts, *Memory and Gender*, relies on Geary’s translation. Smith, in her discussion of Walter’s *moniage*, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture*, translates II.11.34-36 (p.161).

¹⁰ Bethmann, “sermone utitur plane barbaro,” p. 76; Manitius, “...sein Latein ist dunkel oft bis zur Unverständlichkeit.” p. 294.

¹¹ Bethmann, “Artem historicam frustra apud eum quaesieris,” p. 76; Wickham, “...this account becomes more detailed, but startlingly ill-informed.” p. 61; Manitius “Unser chronist ist nun freilich eher alles andere als ein Geschichtschreiber.” p. 294.

¹² Bethmann, “...componit enim res, prouti in mensem inciderant.” p. 76; Wickham, “The Chronicle is a fascinating ragbag of a text...” p. 61.

¹³ Manitius, “Über dem Ganzen liegt ein naiv-treuherziger volkstümlicher Ton...”

¹⁴ Geary, “Epic Tradition and Monastic Ideology,” “The otherwise unexceptional *Chronicon Novaliciense* has long attracted the attention of medievalists because it contains a number of ‘popular stories,’ chief among them excerpts from the *Waltharius*...” (This quote is meant to be a “snapshot” of scholarship of the time [1981], and not representative of Geary’s later or current opinion. In an email dated Dec. 22, 2015, Geary points out that his “Epic Tradition” title is an abstract of a paper that was never prepared for publication, and goes on to say, “...and anything that I said then is surely very much out of date.”)

from the text to illustrate a specific point in a field such as memory or gender. A full English translation will facilitate access to the *Chronicle* as a whole, and could encourage wider engagement with the entire text. In Chapter 2, I provide the text upon which the translation is based. I have used Bethmann's edition rather than producing a fresh one of my own, but I have collated it word for word against a digital scan of the manuscript.

The second half of the dissertation deals specifically with the *Chronicle*'s use of the *Waltharius* in Book II (chapters 7 – 12). The *Waltharius* is an epic poem written in Latin hexameters in the 9th or 10th century, concerning the adventures of this hero of the Nibelungen sagas. Given hostage as a child to Atilla, Walter fights for Atilla, but then escapes and fights a series of single combats with Frankish soldiers, through whose kingdom he had to travel to get home. The *Chronicle*'s author quotes the epic extensively in his second book (approximately one-third of the 1,456 line poem), adapting and changing some of the lines, but ultimately fitting the poem into his own original composition. He recounts Walter's story and goes on to tell the otherwise unrecorded story of his later entrance into Novalese as a monk.

In Chapters 3 and 4 I focus on the relationship between the *Chronicle* and the *Waltharius*, taking an intertextual approach, and in doing so I ask different questions than previous scholars have posed. Among these questions is, first and foremost, "What actually is in the *Chronicle*?" Instead of discussing what is lacking, I address what the chronicler actually says in his re-working of the Walter narrative, and how he goes about re-casting the epic. I argue that the author is neither slap-dash nor copying down random lines of the epic as they occur to him, or as he has access to them in a manuscript. It is my thesis that the chronicler organizes his borrowings from the *Waltharius* epic in

coherent ways, and has used specific and identifiable methods to change the narrative of the epic hero to suit his larger vision of Walter's role within the monastery.¹⁵

Although the focus of my analysis is the treatment of the epic hero Walter in the *Chronicle*, it is instructive to take a brief, selective look at the chronicler's organization of material and his presentation of other scenes and characters in the work. The author's presentation of material throughout the *Chronicle* suggests organizational principles and narrative techniques that I examine more fully in relation to the epic poem (in Chapters 3 and 4). There is an identifiable and roughly chronological overall scheme of the entire work; the chapters of the books are structured logically within each book; both larger episodes and smaller stories are set within the chapters in an organized way. It is clear throughout the work that there is a discernible structure that is not random. The author is thoughtful, and presents a coherent narrative both in the big picture, and in the details. A brief discussion of this coherence demonstrates the author's organizational acumen.

Bethmann, in his edition of the *Chronicle*, furnishes the dates of historically verifiable events in the work. A cursory look at the pattern of these historically accepted dates reveals that there is an overall chronology to the entire work. The only date given for the incomplete Book I is 827, when the author begins to discuss St. Eldrad. It seems clear, however, from the fragments furnished by earlier scholars that the beginning of Book I was concerned with the circumstances of the monastery's founding, pre-726. In Book II, the only dates listed are the founding date of 726 and two mentions of the Saracen raid in 906, but, again, in this book the author is focused on the earlier, epic history of the monastery and takes several chapters to tell the story of Walter. Bethmann

¹⁵ To facilitate this discussion, I present in the Appendix a comparison of lines between the *Waltharius* (93-578) and the section of the *Chronicle* that "quotes" the epic poem (II.9.3-185).

identifies fifteen historical dates in Book III, spanning the years chronologically from 739 to 841. The outlier date in this book is that of 1000, when the author relates a report of a visitor to Charlemagne's tomb, but even this date comes in chronological order, at the end of the book. The dates in Book IV (fragments only) cover years 845 to 906, and the eighteen dates in Book V pick up with 906 as the work continues, again in chronological order, through 1014.

This deliberate approach is also evident within the chapters of the books, and I offer here an example from Book III to discuss the author's juxtaposition of two episodes concerning Charlemagne. As Charlemagne is on his way into Italy to do battle with King Desiderius, he stays with his army at Novalesse. While there, Charlemagne is approached by a jester who has a plan to take Charlemagne's army by an alternate route to surprise Desiderius. For the next four chapters, the story shifts back and forth between Charlemagne – his approaching military encounter and his benefices to Novalesse – and the jester, who wants his reward for helping the army. The story of Charlemagne's promises and gratitude to the monastery are therefore interwoven with Charlemagne's promises and gratitude to the jester. A consequence of this juxtaposition of episodes, beyond its value in varying the narrative, is that the reader sees that Charlemagne keeps his promises, in this case the promise he made to the jester for his help. Another result of this juxtaposition seems to be that the reader is intended to realize that just as Charlemagne kept his word and gave his promised reward to the jester, so Charlemagne has kept his word and has given the promised rewards to Novalesse. Linking these two stories even more closely is similar language used in each by the chronicler. For example, Charlemagne, at the beginning of the intertwined stories, departs from

Novalese, promising many good things to the monastery; at the stories' end, the jester departs from Charlemagne, having received his promised reward. With these departures, both Charlemagne and the jester "departed in praise:" Charlemagne praising God, *rex... laudans Deum et glorificans abiit*; and the jester praising Charlemagne, *Qui protinus adorans regem abiit*. The verb *abiit* is used twelve times in the *Chronicle*, but only twice is it used with a participle of praise, both times within this particular sequence of interwoven stories. This particular use serves to connect the stories through common vocabulary as well as through narrative structure.

Even in small episodes the chronicler crafts his story with deliberation. At the end of Book I (I.7-14), there is a small episode about snakes which have infested a valley that the monks wish to inhabit. At the request of the monks, Abbot Eldrad commands these snakes to stay in a certain part of the valley and to do no harm if they ever do venture out. Driven out by the heat, however, the snakes do indeed go forth from the area to which they had been relegated. As one might imagine in the story of a miracle, the snakes do no harm, but the chronicler uses progressive narrowing of geographical focus as the snakes move from their valley. The snakes first go to the village itself, and then continue into smaller and smaller geographical areas within the village, moving from house to hearth, and then to a bed containing two people, until one snake finally comes to rest in a cradle, face to face with a baby. The snakes therefore travel in a clear geographical sequence, *per vicum...per domos...ad ignem...inter duos iacentes in lectum...in cuna cum puero os ad ore*. Illustrated by these few examples, there is already evidence of organizational patterns at all levels: a chronological sequence in the books of

the entire work; narrative sequence in the interwoven stories of Charlemagne and the jester in Book III; and geographical sequence in one small episode of Book I.

Both Patrick Geary¹⁶ and Elisabeth van Houts¹⁷ in their books on memory make use of the *Chronicle*'s episode in Book II of Petronilla, the 200-year-old village woman who transmits local knowledge to the village inhabitants. Geary and van Houts both remark on this unusual portrayal of a woman as the authority on collective memory. In addition to this one episode, however, there seems to be a pattern to the chronicler's treatment of women throughout the *Chronicle*. In the manuscript as we have it now, there are seven small episodes which concern women and, perhaps surprising in a monastic account, these women are not portrayed in a negative light, but have positive and interesting characteristics. In only one instance does the reader find even the idea of woman as evil, and that is in a brief reference (II.3.1-6) to a cleric who lusts after the beauty of a woman – but the woman is not specified, and the story is not about her; the point of the reference seems not so much that women are evil, but that monks are subject to lust after them. The chapter contains the story of why women were prohibited from the monastery by its founder, Abbo. There is the suggestion that women are a source of evil and are to be avoided, as the chronicler recounts the reason for Abbo's decision to remove the monks from intercourse with worldly society:

[loco...Urbiano] In quo fuerat prepositus quidam, contra quem diabolus insidiator humani generis sua profana machinamenta seviter iaciens, concupivit etiam, quod nefas dicere, formam cuiusdam mulieris.

¹⁶ Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp. 70-73.

¹⁷ van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200*, pp. 24-25, 72.

In this episode, however, the seeming source of the problem, the woman herself, is in an oblique case and is vague and unidentified *cuiusdam mulieris*. Although the Latin is somewhat problematic, it seems certain that it is the cleric, *prepositus*, who is the subject of the active verb *concupivit*. The blame of temptation therefore falls on the cleric, who has fallen prey to the devil's snares; the direct object of his desire is not even the actual woman, but her beauty, *formam cuiusdam mulieris*. Therefore, although the message is undoubtedly that women are a temptation to be avoided, and the chronicler professes horror at the situation, *quod nefas dicere*, the agency in the sentence (taking *prepositus* as the necessary subject) is that of the man, not the woman. The women who populate the *Chronicle* are of various social stations; aside from Hildegund, Walter's betrothed in the epic, these women's stories involve the Roman imperial family¹⁸, queens, a slave girl, a princess, a nun, a noblewoman, and the previously-mentioned 200-year-old Petronilla. The chronicler endows these women with an unexpected agency; in these short episodes they variously flee persecution, steal a relic, dig an escape passage under a doorway, defy a prohibition, work a miracle, write a love letter, pass on wisdom and operate a ballista.

Since the *Chronicle's* stories of Charlemagne are "un-historical," the attention they have received from editors has been primarily on setting straight the historical record. Historical accuracy aside, however, the chronicler's treatment of Charlemagne is somewhat unexpected, and, given the importance of Charlemagne's relationship with the monastery, the actual picture of Charlemagne presented in the *Chronicle* can seem surprising. The chronicler's emphasis seems not on Charlemagne as king and general,

¹⁸ Summaries of now-missing passages in Book I include several concerning Priscilla, supposedly a niece of Emperor Nero. Escaping the persecution of Christians in Rome, she flees with a band of followers to the place later known as Novalesse.

other than in formulaic expressions, as demonstrated the first time the reader is introduced to Charlemagne (Book II.4.1-10). In this episode, the emphasis is not on the famous king and general, Novalese's most important benefactor, but on his wife, who disobeys a prohibition. After an introductory sentence duly identifying Charles as the son of Pippin, and the ruler of Italy through divine providence, the chronicler goes on to explain that Charles came to Novalese for Lent. During this visit the king's wife Berte disobeys the injunction against women visiting a particular chapel and pays the ultimate penalty, falling dead at the chapel door. The emphasis in this story is on Berte, not Charles, as is seen in the language used in respect to each. Throughout this episode, Charles performs fairly tame actions, such as residing, arriving, and remaining *residisset*, *veniebat*, *manebat*. There are no descriptors assigned to him or his actions, and the most active verb of which he is the subject is *surrexisset*, when he gets up in the morning to attend Matins. In contrast is the language used of his wife. After an inert *erat uxor* – “there was his wife,” the *Chronicle*'s Berte busies herself with the flurry of activity that leads to her death: *cupiens videre, surgens, induit, tendit, advenit, cecidit, expiravit*. She and her actions have modifiers that lend color to the picture: *laetanter, concito gradu, extemplo, subito, ilico*. Although Charles literally gets the last word at the end of the episode, lamenting over his deceased wife, he has effectively been upstaged in his first appearance in the narrative.

With his stories about the major characters Charlemagne and Walter, the chronicler expands his work from its role as a local monastic record and sets Novalese on a narrative world stage populated by epic kings and heroes. The *Chronicle*'s emphasis on these two epic figures was surely meant to showcase the importance of the monastery of

Novalese, and this dissertation explores the ways in which the chronicler chose and arranged his materials in his telling of the Walter saga with that end in mind. In the case of both heroes, however, the chronicler's primary emphasis, in keeping with the overall purpose of illustrating his monastery's importance, is on their relationship with Novalese. Both relationships are extremely personal, not merely witnessed through charters and documents, or copied wholesale from another literary source. Charlemagne's wife dies at Novalese, and is buried there; the son of Walter and his wife Hildegund are buried at Novalese, as is Walter himself. Charlemagne personally witnesses a miracle while at Novalese; the relics of Walter's grandson are responsible for the performance of a miracle. One of Charlemagne's sons becomes an oblate at Novalese; Walter, the epic hero himself, travels the world and chooses Novalese as his monastic home.

Walter is one of the major characters in the *Chronicle* and is known to the chronicler entirely from a literary source, the *Waltharius*.¹⁹ Since the information informing Book II.7-12 of the *Chronicle* is from a single extant source, a comparison of the two texts allows us to see how the chronicler crafts his narrative through his additions and changes to, and subtractions from, the base text, and gives us an idea of his working methods. A close comparison between the Latin poem and the passages of the *Chronicle* dependent on it shows that the chronicler is not merely paraphrasing, excerpting, or copying the poem as some scholars have claimed²⁰. On the contrary, the account of Walter in the *Chronicle* has a narrative structure of its own, and the chronicler makes

¹⁹ The chronicler quotes an otherwise lost and unattested poem, *Waltharius fortis*; Bethmann suggests a lost *Perigrinatio Waltharii*.

²⁰ Wickham, "...including an epitome of (and extracts from) the Latin heroic poem *Waltharius*." p. 61; Geary, "...the *Waltharius*, long sections of which were copied directly into the Novalesian *Chronicon*." p. 72; Alessio, "Il *Waltharius* viene qui in parte trascritto alla lettera, in parte compendiato sbrigativamente." p.77, n. 9.1.

clear and deliberate changes in his adaptation of the story in regard both to its entities (characters) and its events (units of action, or incidents)²¹. These changes occur in both what I will call the “quoted” section – discussed in Chapter 3 below – and those sections of the *Chronicle*’s Walter account that lie outside the “quoted” section. For purposes of this discussion, the “quoted” section is that in which the *Chronicle* follows the text of the *Waltharius* most closely. In the *Chronicle* (CN), this is Book II.9.3-185, corresponding to *Waltharius* (W) verses 93-578.

The *Chronicle*’s Walter narrative outside these lines comprises two more sections, and I treat these in Chapter 4. The first of these is the end of Book II, chapter 9, which continues and completes the *Chronicle*’s account of Walter the epic hero; I call this the “paraphrased” section. This small section comprises fifteen sentences of the *Chronicle*, II.9.186-200. The second section is what I call the “monastic” section of the Walter story, the chronicler’s discussion of the epic hero turned monk. The “monastic” section encompasses the chapters immediately proceeding the “quoted” section, II.7-8, and the chapters immediately following the “paraphrased” section, the narrative of the epic Walter, II.10-12.

It is time for the *Chronicle* of Novalesse to receive not only a new look, but a different one. Even more modern treatments have been apologetic or dismissive of the text. Wickham, as we have seen, dismissed both the text and its historicity, and even Geary and van Houts, in their positive treatments of the *Chronicle*’s Petronilla, felt the need to address the author’s veracity: Geary informs us that the chronicler has presented

²¹ H. Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction To Narrative*. Story: “Conveyed through narrative discourse, story is a chronological sequence of events involving entities.” (p.241) Entity: “...entities comprise one of the two basic components of a story, the other being the events or action. Humanlike entities capable of agency are referred to as characters.” (p.232) Event: “The fundamental unit of the action. Also called an ‘incident,’ an event can be an act...” (p.232).

the reader with a “triple fiction,”²² one of which is that Petronilla could not have been 200 years old; and van Houts argues for the truth of the same story by arguing that, “surely if [the author] had invented the account, would it not have been more obvious for him to have invented a male witness?”²³ In exploring what is in the *Chronicle* instead of mining it for veracity or finding it lacking for what it is not, this dissertation examines what the chronicler has to say, specifically about Walter, and his methods of saying it. It is to be hoped that the English translation will not only provide further access to the entire text, but also invite new appraisals of the *Chronicle* as a whole.

²² Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p. 72.

²³ van Houts, *Memory and Gender*, p. 25.

CHAPTER 1: ENGLISH TRANSLATION

The Chronicle of Novalese

The Fragments of Book One

[1. Abbo...In those times, when the ancient way of the Romans was still preserved, according to which every person had to pay tribute in Rome, each one of them gave a *nummus*; and since they were coming from far-flung regions, some perished in rivers, others were killed or preyed on by thieves, others died from the very fatigue of the journey. And since Abbo was residing in the state of Susa, in the land called Vienne, in this very valley near Novalese, he founded a monastery in honor of Saint Peter, for the souls of his parents, and for the loss of his son; he also wished that the tribute which then was being taken from Gaul to Rome, would be brought there ... And he made a will, which he caused to be written to Valchin the archbishop of Embrun, whose nephew he himself was, and had copied by the scribe Cludebert.²⁴]

[2. And when Theoderic, not the king of the Franks, who was the son of Queen Brunchild who drove the blessed Columbanus from Luxeuil, but that king of the Goths, who killed the two famous senators and exconsuls Simachus and Boethius; who suddenly

²⁴ Bethmann: *Cudebertum*; Alessio: *Ludebertum*.

died on the fifty-eighth day after Pope John died ... and forbidden to enter Rome went to Constantinople, and was received nobly by the Emperor Zeno, and he made for him a golden equestrian statue, and declared him king of Italy; and he came and fought at Verona against Odoacer, and killed him at Ravenna, and was made king. And in the fifth year of his reign Abbo built the monastery at Novalese ... he named Godo abbot...]

[7. He relates that a certain nun setting out from Gaul to Rome, after much prayer and fasting had been offered in the temple of Saints Peter and Paul, sought divine aid, that she might receive with great reverence one of the worthy bones of blessed Peter the apostle, with the doorkeepers (that is, the guards) unaware, and that she could conceal it under her jaw somehow, devoutly beseeching God, that the opportunity of bearing the relic of such a great patron would be given to her.

[8. So, setting out from there, when she had arrived at the valley of Susa, which today is called Novalese, since night was coming upon her, she rested, and on account of her great weariness she remained there for several days, and quietly resided there alone, in a certain little hut.]

[9. When however a certain nobleman from the regions of Gaul was traveling to Rome with a great throng of servants, having lost his way in these areas, he ordered one of them to climb up into a tall tree so that he could explore the nearby vicinity. This man, when he saw smoke, headed there and found this nun in the hut. After he had led his master to her, and she had showed them the venerable relics, with the lord saying, that he was not

suitably satisfied concerning their authenticity, she ordered two wine goblets to be brought, one full of wine, the other of water, and from a touch of the relics she instantly changed the latter into wine Indeed some say that the nobleman himself was Lord Abbo, a *patricius* of the Romans, who was the founder of Novalese.]

[10. The monastery was then destroyed, first by the dukes of the Langobards Amo, Zaban, and Rodan; second, when they killed a certain most pious monk named Arnulph; the third when the monks of that place went to the city of Turin to live. The Longobards therefore entered Italy, captured Rome, and razed Monte Cassino down to the ground²⁵. This devastation happened under the Abbot Bonicius, who was fifth after the blessed Benedict. This place of light, however, remained without habitation of any man for one hundred and ten years.]

[11. Therefore, seven years after the Longobards forcefully siezed Rome, the three leaders mentioned above went into Gaul for plunder. Amo and Zaban approached through Mount Geminus; Rodan however, taking a different route, traveled with his men through Mont Cenis to Grenoble. When he had arrived at the monastery of Novalese, he killed many of those monks who did not refuse to die for the Lord, namely, those who were holier soldiers; but the others escaped in flight through windows and small doors along the trackless ways of the mountains and the cliffs. Then indeed the monastery was plundered and burned; indeed only two boys, hiding under the altar cloth, were saved by divine intervention....]

²⁵ Gregory *Dialogues*, 2.15.

[12. Also in the abovementioned monastery was once a certain abbot,] Eldrad by name, splendid in piety, full of wisdom, famous for his miracles. He established and increased a great treasure in that place, as even today can be seen, in the actual vessels of gold and silver, or in books that he caused to be written. For at the same time there came to that very abbey, to Abbot Eldrad, a man most holy in all things, certain monks who lived in the valley of Briançon, which today is called Monasterium (Monêtier-les-Bains). Indeed, there are warm baths in that village, composed of stone and chalk, and four churches built by these same monks, one church in honor of the Blessed Mother of God, and another in honor of Saint Peter, a third in honor of St. Andrew, and the fourth in honor of Saint Martin the Glorious Confessor. The valley itself is suited for game and fish, but exceedingly infested with serpents. Therefore these monks, as I said above, when they had come to the abbot Eldrad, they made him aware of all the danger of those snakes, saying: "My lord," they said, "we are unable to remain any longer in that place, where we have lived until now, on account of the multitude of serpents living there." He said to them, "Fear not, but return and work that land in the accustomed manner. Indeed, I will follow you quickly." After they returned, the venerable abbot followed them, with some other brethren. When he had arrived at the aforementioned village, after he had made a prayer, he began to go around in a circle in the village with a staff that he was holding in his hand, and herding together a multitude of serpents, he gathered them in a certain small cave, commanding them in the name of the Lord to remain there the rest of their days, saying, "Even if you ever happen to come out, I command you in the name of the Lord, not to harm anyone." They all obey the abbot to this day; but when it happens that in great heat they become warm, they are seen to wander through the village and to enter

through the houses and to go up to the fire; sometimes they are found between two people lying on a bed, sometimes even sleeping in a cradle face to face with a child, without any harm. There is however a small place where the aforementioned snakes remain today; they remain in the cavities of rocks, and the place itself is situated next to the river Guisane.

Book One Ends

The Chapter Headings of Book II Begin

1. That the abbots of the monastery at one time stayed apart near the church of our Lord Savior with the elder monks.
2. That from ancient times access to this place has been prohibited to women.
3. Why it was forbidden to them then.
4. Where after many years the wife of Charlemagne met death on account of her brashness.
5. About Mount Romuleus, how it received this name.
6. About the bishops of the church of Maurienne
7. About a certain gardener, a monk of the monastery, named Walter.
8. Whence that same man, and his wife Hildegund came.
9. How he came to the Monastery of Novalese.
10. That King Attila, who is called The Scourge of God, at one time held this man Walter as a hostage.
11. About the monastery's wagons, which were captured by certain men.

12. About the afore-mentioned Walter, whom the abbot sent to the previously mentioned thieves.
13. About Mont Cenis, which the noble lord Abbo exchanged with the archbishop of Lyon.
14. About many visions of saints appearing in this same place.
15. About the death of Walthar, and his tomb.
16. About the revelation of his tomb.
17. About a certain cell of his under the dominion of Novalese which is called Plebe of the Martyrs.
18. About a certain old monk, named Gerald.
19. About a marble arch in the city of Susa, contracted and raised by the noble Abbo.
20. About the monasteries which there were throughout the various provinces under the dominion of Novalese; how later Novalese lost them.

The Chapter Headings of Book II End.

Book II Begins.

1. In ancient times, during which Novalese most rigorously held sway over all its abbatial possessions, it was the custom of the abbots, in order to keep the laws of holiness, to remain remote and separate with some elder monks at the church of our Lord Savior. A crowd of the other older monks, however, many of whom were not able to live as one, stayed in various cells around the churches. From these dwellings, unless serious illness prohibited them, they would gather together at the appropriate hours for the chapter meeting or to dine. The entire group of young brothers, however, was guarded with the

greatest care and kept enclosed within the walls of the monastery. The valley itself was very lovely, well-populated, radiant with churches and chapels for prayer to God, where a vast army of monks used to pray. There were some churches in the valley in which the aforementioned monks lived in groups of six or twelve, all of them receiving food and clothes from the elder in the monastery. These are the *cenobites*, as we have said, who live together in community, as Saint Jerome said, among other things, to the virgin Eustochium²⁶. The first responsibility among them was to obey their superiors and to do whatever they said. They were divided by tens or by hundreds, in such a way that over nine men one tenth man was the leader, and in turn the ten leaders had one man of their group over them. Therefore, the elders of whom I spoke remained apart in their separate cells until the completion of the third hour, as it had been established for them, and there each one spent his time in psalms, hymns, and prayers. No one visited another excepting those whom we call deans, so that if anyone were wavering in his meditations he could be consoled by conversation with him. After the third hour they met together, Psalms resounded, scripture was recited as a matter of course. Then, with prayer finished and everyone seated, the one whom they called “father” began to speak in their midst. While he was speaking there was such silence that no one dared to look at another, no one dared to cough. The praise for the speaker was in their weeping. Tears of the listeners rolled silently, they ran down their faces and mouths, and grief burst forth not even in a sob. Indeed, once the speaker had begun to preach about the kingdom of Christ, about future blessedness, about the indescribable glory to come, you could see them all with suspended breath lift their eyes to heaven and say to themselves, "Who will give me

²⁶ Jerome, *Letter to Eustochium*, XXII.35.

wings like a dove, and I will fly and find rest?"²⁷ After this, the meeting was concluded, and when the time had come for eating, every group of ten with its father went to the table, where each in turn served the others for a week. There was no clatter or noise over food; while eating no one spoke. They were nourished in accordance with the Rule; then they arose together, and, after the hymn had been recited, the elders returned to their chambers; the young men however remained under supervision. From then until vespers each communed with his thoughts and said, "Did you see that one? And that one? What grace there is in them. What silence. How moderate their gait." If they had noticed that someone was ill, they comforted him, if they saw that someone was fervent in the love of God, they would encourage his zeal. And because at night, except during public prayer, each one kept vigil in his cubicle, as they went about the rooms of each, with ears at the ready, they diligently investigated what each was doing. Anyone whom they caught lagging they did not scold, but pretending that they didn't know, visited him more often, and beginning first, encouraged him to pray rather than forcing him to do so. If anyone began to fall ill, he was transferred to a more spacious room and was comforted by such a great attendance of elders that no need arose for the afflicted man to request the comforts of the city, or for the loving care of his mother. On the Lord's Days they spent time only in prayers and readings, which indeed they did at all times, once their chores had been completed. Something was learned from Scripture daily. No mortal could recount the good deeds that were done in that monastery. In it, chastity was pervasive, charity shone forth; largess of alms and constant prayer to God was displayed, as much for the living as for the deceased.

²⁷ Psalms 54.7.

2. I do not think that this should be passed over in silence, namely, what the most holy abbots of this venerable monastery once sanctioned in their own times by making statutes. Indeed I heard – as God is my witness, I'm not lying – what a certain old man reported on a certain occasion: that in ancient times the entrance of women into the monastery was prohibited by the abbots of that church. In front of that sacred monastery, as far as an arrow is able to be shot, there was a church built in honor of the most blessed and most glorious virgin Mary. Below it is the path by which one gets to the aforementioned monastery. Nearby there was a certain house of that church in which were received all women, noble and humble, who came there to worship God and the good works of those Apostles. There was a cross there consecrated to God, next to the road, made of rock and limestone. It remains to this day and in it, I think, precious relics had been stored. None of the women dared to go beyond it, or even to approach it a little way, so she could at any time reach the older monastery, because, as is said, it had been placed there for that reason. For if it happened that any woman wished – because of whatever boldness – to violate the established boundary, immediately she returned, either in disgrace or gravely ill, or then and there suffered bodily death. Some even say, who have read the ancient history or records of the place, that this statute was instituted there at that time. For those monks -- from the very day of its foundation until the final destruction of the place, which the Saracens brought about when they left Fraxineto -- held this decree inviolably and unshaken. Some, taking an example from this, are said to pay heed to this in the same way that their predecessors did. And likewise some do this today, but they are very few. That place was so well fortified all around, that with few fortifications it could be protected on all sides, either with stakes, or an earthen wall, or

an enclosure. Indeed on one side rose up a cliff, rocky and steep; on its summit churches were built by the afore-mentioned fathers. In another direction there was a mountain high and wooded, Panarius by name, which is said to have the richest grazing-lands on its peak.

3. It is necessary now, with all modesty aside, to tell the reason why it was forbidden for women at that time to have access to the monastery. Before the noble Abbo, a man most devoted to God, instituted this monastery of Novalese by his sacred decree, there was a monastery in the same city, Susa that is, in a place called Urbiano. In this place there was once a certain prior, against whom the devil, that traitor of the human race, was savagely laying his profane traps – he [the prior] even coveted (abominable to say) the beauty of a certain woman. The aforementioned Abbo, after he had lamented deeply about this wickedness, began to consider the disaster of human fragility, as I mentioned in the previous book, saying, “The home of the monks will not be safe, if they have constant intercourse with the cities and villages round about.” Then he moved the monastery to the valley of Novalese, where he fortunately set out his will, mandating to the abbot and the monks that no woman, noble or humble, should dare to set foot beyond this sacred place. Meanwhile, he left in the previous community those who had been tested by long religious service, but they were now under the jurisdiction of Novalese. And so here, as much by Abbo himself, as by the abbots of the place, access has always been forbidden to women, right up until the time when it was profaned at last by the impious race of Saracens. And so it is quite clear to all whence this custom first became the practice in the monasteries. This opinion, which we have written to be inserted in this book, we

added not from the report of anyone, or from our own experience, but according to a certain Bishop Peter, who in his time read a book in Verona, in which he discovered many things about Novalese. We heard these things from Peter himself, things which we have now set down here. In truth, we also know that there were once some biographies written there about these abbots and monks and about the work of the place; these men long ago for a long time displayed their holiness there; they shone forth, gleaming with virtues. Thus we read about Asinarius and Walthar and about Arnulf and Frodoin, and also about Eldrad – and about many others whose names are entirely unknown by us. But, as we said above, it is an irreparable loss for us that those aforementioned books have been scattered throughout the world.

4. Indeed one time, when Charles – king of the Franks and son of Duke Pipin – after he had obtained the kingdom of Italy, aided by God, and had taken up residence in the monastery of Novalese for a certain time – namely during Lent, for it was his custom when he came into Italy to stay there for those days; indeed, he cherished this monastery greatly, because many nobles from the kingdom of the Franks often were observed to take up the vestment of religion in it – when, as I was saying, one day, the Emperor Charles had arisen for the monks' Matins, on Maundy Thursday, there was his wife, Queen Berta by name, who for a long time wished to see this monastery. Rising secretly on that same night, with no one knowing except for one very faithful maid, she clothed herself in a hooded cloak so that no one would recognize her, and with hurried step she headed immediately for the monastery. When she arrived at the doors of the oratory of St. Peter she fell suddenly and expired on the spot. Now, when Matins was over,

however, and the king was returning to his chamber, he found her lying where she earlier had fallen. The king's attendants, who were preceding him, moved their candles closer and examined her, wondering who she was. But when the king recognized her, he said to her, "Alas, my dear, you will not now be able to return on the feet by which you came here." And so, they moved her immediately, and greatly lamented her death, and delayed her funeral for three days. At last, with the greatest solemnity, accompanied by a great throng, they conducted the funeral service and buried her in the chapel of the Blessed Mary, which is called "By the Cross." Her tomb has very often been shown to me by inhabitants of the place. The King, however, left the monastery after bestowing on it his royal beneficences.

5. On the right side of the monastery is Mount Romuleus²⁸, higher than all the mountains near it. Romulus, a certain extremely leprous king, from whom the mountain received its name, is said to have lived once on it in warm weather, on account of the coolness and the beauty of the area and its lake. So on the right, as we have said, this mountain encloses the afore-mentioned monastery, and at its foot goes the road which one takes to Burgundy. Indeed, popular lore says that there are many types of animals on this mountain, such as are on Mt. Cenis: bears, ibexes, wild goats, and others suitable for hunting. From the mountain rises a stream descending in a great fall of the same rock, in which it is said that a salty spring rises and runs along mixed with it. Ibexes and goats and domestic sheep frequently flock there, along the bank of the river itself when it flows into the plain, where they are very often caught because of their love of the salt. They say indeed that this previously mentioned Romulus once collected great wealth on Mt.

²⁸ Bethmann, n.16, *Roccamelone*.

Romuleus when he was staying there, where no one, even if he wishes to go there, ever is able to ascend. Here indeed an old man, who related such things to me about this place, informed me that one time he had observed a great clarity of the sky, and so, rising very early in the morning, with a certain friend named Clement, hastened to scale this mountain as quickly as possible. When they drew near, however, the summit began to gather a thickness of clouds, and to darken; then increasing little by little, the clouds spread all the way to them. But they, standing amidst the gloom of the clouds, and feeling for each other with their hands, were barely able to escape through the darkness. It seemed to them, so they said, that rocks were sent down on them from above. For such things are said to have happened also to some others. At the very summit of the mountain, on one side nothing is found but thorn bushes, and on the other side is said to be a lake of miraculous size with a meadow. This same old man used to tell about a certain extremely greedy nobleman named Arduin. After he had repeatedly heard such things from the locals, mainly about the treasure gathered there, with inflamed spirit he immediately ordered the clerics to hasten quickly to climb there with him. They set out to go, taking a cross, and holy water, and royal banners, and singing litanies. Before they arrived at the top of the mountain, the same thing happened to them as to the first, and they returned in disgrace. I have related this, then, because the occasion of telling the story presented itself, the tale having spread all around, but now let's turn our pen to narrating the work which we began.

6. And so, let's begin our discourse with the bishops of the church at Maurienne. The illustrious Abbo, a nobleman of the Romans, among other things which he instituted or

ordained, said, "From the clerics of these neighboring cities, over which God has set me as rector and lord, I order that the aforementioned monks endure no offense, either from the archdeacon or the chancellor, and that they receive from them for free the unguents and the sacred oil. They also should receive, at no cost or payment, consecrations of the altars and blessings of the priests and the clergy from the bishop of Maurienne. And immediately after the consecration has been effected, without delay the bishop shall return to his own abode. If however the bishop fails to be there through whatever absence, the above-mentioned monks, when they have chosen someone better, will receive him as a bishop. And he himself then must do as above specified." These were the decrees of this most holy man Abbo. Indeed, in the feasts of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, there was the custom, that the aforesaid bishop of Maurienne, coming with the maniple, in order to provide every sort of submission to the abbot, clothed as befitting his dignity in a white stola, stood before the abbot of that sacred monastery for the entire celebration of the Mass. For even till the present day in the aforesaid episcopacy, they still hold this beneficence which those earlier bishops long ago obtained from that monastery. These bishops are said to have done this: Mainard, Joseph, William, and Benedict. I very often have seen the epitaphs of these bishops in the aforesaid monastery, where they are buried and rest quietly.

7. It is said however that there lived in that monastery, in ancient times, a certain monk, a gardener, Walter by name. He was born with the stamp of nobility, and sprung from royal blood. He is said to have been very much the most famous athlete anywhere and mighty in strength, as a wise verse-maker wrote about him: "Mighty Walter, whom no

enemy frightened, tamer of proud necks, a victor flying to the stars, conquered the entire world in two sorts of contest, for he was outstanding in war, but even more shining in worthy deeds. At him stiff Boreas trembled, and the torrid Indus; the rising and the setting of the sun feared him. His fame, crowned by his shining glories, ascends henceforth beyond the eagles of Caesar.”²⁹ After many battles and wars, which he fought bravely in the secular world, and when his body was nearly exhausted by old age, meditating on the weight of his sins, he contemplated how he might worthily come to a proper repentance. When he had decided it would be better to complete his life³⁰ in a monastery where the rule of the monks is observed rather strictly, he immediately sought a beautiful staff, on the top of which he ordered that many rings be affixed, and had individual bells hung from each of the rings. Then, taking on the garb of a traveler, he began to roam nearly the whole world with his staff, so that with its help he could explore the zeal and regulation of the life of the monks to whose monastery he had come. Then he began that pilgrimage which it is reported he undertook. He entered each monastery at the time when the monks themselves were entering for rendering praise to God – he was very careful to do this – and would strike the pavement of the church two or three times with his staff, so that he could discern the discipline of the monks at the sound of the bells. There was a great cleverness and a keen curiosity in him to learn about the discipline of the monks in this way. As we related above, when he had travelled nearly the whole universe, he came at last to Novalese, a monastery at that time extremely famous for its pursuit of holiness. When he had entered the church, he struck the floor of the church in the customary way. At the sound, one of the boys turned around, looking to

²⁹ According to Bethmann, these verses suggest a former *Acta Waltharii*; Cipolla disagrees.

³⁰ CN: *explere, sc. vitam*.

see what it was. Immediately the master of the school leaped upon the student and slapped him. When Walter saw this, he immediately sighed and said, "Ah, here is the place which I have been seeking for many days over the wide spaces of the earth, and until now have not been able to find." Exiting the church immediately, he requested that the abbot grant him a conversation. When he told him what he wished, he subsequently took up the monk's habit, and was at once made, willingly and voluntarily, a gardener of the monastery. Taking two long ropes, he stretched them through the garden, one along the length, the other along the width. Then in the summer, he used to suspend all the noxious weeds, that is to say, exposed them uprooted to the heat of the sun, so that they would not grow back.

8. Who this Walter was before, and from what land he came, and from what lineage he was born, it is not good to hide in silence. There was a certain king in Aquitaine named Alfer. He had by his lawful wife a son, called Walther, whom we named earlier. In this time there was another king in the realm of Burgundy named Criricus, who, for his part, had a very lovely daughter, by the name of Hildegund. These kings had made an oath between themselves that as soon as the children had come to the proper age, they would join them to each other, that is when the time came for them to marry. Before these children could be joined in marriage, the kingdoms of their fathers were conquered, and the children were given as hostages into the power of king Attila, Scourge of God. He took them with him, along with Hagan, the hostage of the king of the Franks, Gibico by name.

9. They were indeed children.³¹ Attila, taking them as hostages from their proper families, returned with his forces to his own lands with a great deal of money. This is what a certain poet³² says of them: Then at last the Avares, laden with much treasure, and after they had taken as hostages Hagan, the girl Hildegund, and Walter, returned with joyful heart. Attila, entering Pannonia and welcomed in the city, exhibited utmost piety toward the exiled children, in that he ordered them to be reared as his own foster-children; and he ordered the queen to take care of the maiden. But both boys he commanded always to be present in his own sight, and he trained them in the arts, and especially in the arts of warfare. The boys, growing in intelligence and in maturity, outdid the strong in courage, and the wise in knowledge, until at last they surpassed all the Huns. Attila then made them the leaders of his army, and not without cause, because if he ever stirred up war among the most important of those regions, these boys shone forth with victory in battle. And so why should the prince not like them? The maiden too, who had been taken captive with them, with God her champion, gladdened the countenance of the queen, and the queen increased in love for her. From her noble manners and abounding in wisdom of her tasks, she at last became the keeper of the entire treasure of the king and queen, and there was little lacking but that she herself ruled, for whatever she wished came about in fact and deed. Meanwhile, Gybicus, king of the Franks died, and his son Gunther succeeded in his reign; and immediately he dissolved the agreement with the Pannonians and denied the tribute due to them. But Hagan, in his exile, learning of the death of his rightful king, immediately prepared for

³¹ CN: *Hii namque pueri Attila...accipiens...* Either full stop after *pueri* with possible emphasis on the youth of the hostages, or read *Hii* and *pueri* as nominative for accusative as object of *accipiens*.

³² The remainder of CN Chapter 9 is based on the epic poem *Waltharius*.

flight. The king with his queen greatly mourned his departure, and strove to keep Walter, so they would not by some chance lose him through a similar escape. They began to ask that he choose for himself a daughter of any royal governor of the Pannonians as his wife, and Attila himself would bestow on him lands and dwellings. Walter responded to them with these words: "If I should take a bride," he said, "according to the command of my lord, I first will be bound by concern and love for the girl to construct a home and to concentrate on cultivating the land. Nothing, indeed, my lord, is so sweet to me as to be faithful to you always, and I especially beg of you, oh father, by my own life, and by the unconquered people of Pannonia, that you not compel me any further to get married." After he had spoken these things, he at once left off all speech. And so the king was deceived, hoping that Walther would never depart. Soon, however, a definite report came to the king that a certain people, who had once been conquered by the Huns, were now once again rushing down upon them with hostile intent. Then the command of the situation was turned over to Walter, who soon reviewed the entire army in array and cheered the hearts of his warriors. Without delay he arose, and the entire army followed. And behold: He surveyed the site of the battle, and the battle line ranged throughout the wide plains. And now closing together, each advancing army halted within the range of the weaponry. Then on both sides a clamor rose to the breezes; the trumpet caused confusion with its horrid shouting. And immediately spears flew thick here and there, the ash tree and the cornel mingled in one encounter, and their vibrating tips flashed like lightning. The men brought forth their glittering swords, and they rolled out their shields. Then the battlelines clashed, and afterward renewed the battle, and then some of the hearts of the horses were broken on the chests of opposing horses, and some men were

laid low by the hard shield bosses. Walter however raged in the midst of the battle, mowing down whatever came in the way of his weapons, continuing on his way. Then the enemy saw him dealing such slaughter, as if, in their fear, they saw Death himself bearing down upon them. And whatever place Walter was attacking, whether on his right or his left, they all immediately turned their backs. And when they had been crowned with the laurel of victory, Walter returned with the Huns. Then the royal attendants of the citadel met him joyfully and held his horse, until the famous man could descend from his high saddle. Then they asked if things had turned out well. He told them a little, and entered the royal hall. He was indeed extremely weary, and he sought the king's chamber. And there, in the vestibule, he came upon Hildegund, sitting alone. After a loving embrace and sweet kisses, he said: "Bring a goblet here quickly, because I am panting from exhaustion." She at once filled a precious cup with wine, and offered it to Walter to drink. Making the sign of the cross, he took it, and he took the maiden's hand in his own, but she, reticent, turned her gaze on him. When Walter had drunk, he gave back to her the empty vessel; indeed they both were aware that they had been betrothed. He addressed the beloved girl: "We have equally endured exile for a long time now. We are not unaware of what our parents long ago decided between themselves concerning our future." The maiden, when she had listened for some time to these and other like words, thought that he was saying this to her ironically. But after remaining silent for a bit, she spoke to him: "Why do you pretend with your speech what you deny in the depths of your heart? You pretend to me with your words, what you refute with your whole heart? As though it would be a great shame for you to take a wife." The thoughtful man responded in turn, and replied: "Far be it from me what you suggest;

consider the true meaning. You know that I never have spoken with feigned design. There is no one here, except the two of us. And now be of firm intent, you who are to outward appearances the guardian of the treasure of the king and queen. First, I bid you, take the king's helmet, and the triple-woven tunic, the breastplate carrying the insignia of the makers, then get two ordinary chests. In these put so many of the bracelets of the Pannonians that you scarcely can lift it to your chest, then make for me four pairs of boots according to custom. Additionally, secretly ask the craftsmen for curved hooks. Fish and birds can be our traveling provisions. I myself am constrained to be fisherman and bird-catcher. Carefully complete each one of these things within a week. You have perchance now heard what is necessary for a traveler to have. After Phoebus has completed seven revolutions, I will plan a joyous banquet for the king and queen, their satraps, dukes, and servants, and I will turn my entire attention to how to bury them in wine, so that no one remains who will know or recognize why or for what reason such a dinner has been given. I advise you however to take wine but sparingly, so that you barely quench your thirst at the table. When the rest have arisen, you at once return to your preparations. But when the force of the wine has overpowered them all, then together let us make hast to leave for western lands." The maiden, mindful of the hero's words, fulfilled his commands, and behold, the day arranged for the feasting arrived, and so did Walter himself, who arranged the banquet at great expense. A luxurious table sat in their midst, and the king entered the hall, which was hung with curtains. The great-hearted hero, saluting him in the usual manner, led him to the throne covered with linen and purple. He sat down and ordered two leaders to sit by his side, on this side and that. And his minister himself assigned the others their place. One hundred dined at the same

time, and the flowing feast was awash in various dishes. When these things were taken away, others were brought in for dining, and Bacchus adorned the spicy wine-bowls. Walter encouraged everyone to drink and eat. After their hunger was removed and the table cleared, the afore-named Walther, addressing his lord joyfully, said: "I propose a toast to this before all else, that your grace may shine forth, and that you all may be happy." As he spoke he gave the king a cup, worked with skill, bearing in relief his ancestors' deeds in order. The king, taking it, emptied it in one gulp and immediately commanded that all imitate him in this drinking. Then the cup-bearers ran here and there. They handed out full cups, and took away those that were empty. Heated inebriation ruled the entire hall. Eloquence stammered, pouring out of drunken mouths. You could see bold old men tottering on their feet. In this way he extended the bacchanal late into the night. Walter brought back with his courtesy anyone who wished to leave, until, weighed down with sleep and laden with wine, everyone was strewn everywhere throughout the halls right on the ground. And now, if the whole city had been engulfed with fire and the spewing flame itself seemed to thicken over them, that is, threatening death, not one remained who could have known the cause. At last he called his beloved woman to him, and she hastened quickly to carry away the supplies that had been prepared. And he himself led out from the stables the champion of horses, which on account of its bravery, he himself had named "Lion." The warhorse stood, and fiercely champed at the foaming bit. After he had given this steed his usual trappings, he then suspended on each of its flanks the chests filled with treasure, and he also loaded a portion of food for the long journey. And he put the flowing reins into the right hand of the maiden. He himself was clothed with a breastplate, in the manner of a giant, and he

placed on his head a red-crested helmet. He girded his mighty calves³³ with golden greaves, and hung his double-edged sword on his left thigh and another on his right, according to the custom of the Pannonians. From these, however, he dealt wounds only on one side. Then seizing his spear with his right hand and his shield with his left, eagerly he began his departure from the hated land. The maiden led the horse which was carrying the great treasure. She also held in her hands a hazel rod with which a fisherman casts the hook into the water, for the great man was weighed down on all sides with weapons; because he had expected to be attacked at any moment. But when ruddy Phoebus showed his first rays to the lands, they made sure to hide in the forests and seek the shadows. Indeed such fear struck the woman's heart that she shuddered at every rustling, breeze, or wind, fearing branches rubbing together, and birds. They avoided villages, left behind beautiful croplands, and went along the unshorn mountains with winding paths. Meanwhile, the people of the city were dissolved in sleep and wine. But when they arose, each one sought their leader so they could thank him and remark with praise on the banquet festivities. Attila meanwhile, was hugging his head with both hands, and the king left his chamber, calling Walter in his pain, to complain about his head-ache, as it happened. His ministers answered that they had not been able to find the man. But nevertheless the prince hoped that Walter was reclining quietly in repose until now, in some hidden place that he had chosen to sleep. When his queen Ospirin – this was her name – however, realized that Hildegund was missing, and had not brought her robes to her as usual, she mournfully addressed the ruler and berated him with great shrieks, saying: “Oh, that detestable feast, which we enjoyed yesterday; oh, the wine, which has destroyed all the Pannonians. That which I, foreknowing, have said already to

³³ CN: *ingentesque...* Waltharius (335): *ingentesque...suras*.

my lord king, this day proves, which we cannot survive. Behold, today it is known that the supports of our kingdom have fallen. Behold, our strength has gone far away, and that famous courage. Walter, the light of Pannonia, has departed, and he has also taken my beloved child Hildegund." And now the prince is filled and brims with the excess of his anger. His grieving heart changed from its previous joy; so was the king tossed on all sides by inner cares. And on that day, he rejected food and drink altogether, and he could not give his limbs a peaceful rest. But when black night came upon him, he fell on his bed, where he did not close his eyes, and he turned frequently from side to side, as though he were pierced by a sharp barb. And then rising, he ran down into the city; then he returned to bed, and as soon as he touched it, he left it again. Thus Attila spent the sleepless night. But the fleeing comrades continued on through the friendly silences. Then the king made a vow, that if anyone could bring Walter to him in chains, he would at once bestow pure gold upon him. But in so great a region no tyrant was found, no duke, count, soldier or minister -- however much he wanted to show his might -- who presumed to make an attack upon Walter when he was angry. Indeed, his courage had been made known to all the inhabitants of the land. Walter, as I have said, traveled fleeing by night, and sought out glades and dense forests by day. Summoning his skill, he captured birds in two ways: he trapped them with bird-lime, or with a split stick³⁴. Likewise, putting his hook into the water, he would snatch his prey from the ripples. And thus he drove away the desperation of hunger by undertaking this work. And for the whole time during their flight Walter, the praiseworthy hero, restrained himself from taking advantage of the maiden. And behold, for forty days the sun had turned itself around the world since Walter had set out from the city of Pannonia. And so, on the day

³⁴ *ames*, a pole or fork, esp. for holding or spreading bird-nets (Lewis & Short).

which completed that number, in the middle of the evening he came to the river, named the Rhine, where its course goes to the city called Worms, splendid with its royal throne. There he exchanged the fish which he had caught earlier for passage-money. And when he had gone across, he hastened breathless on his way. When the day had dawned, the ferryman arose and went into this city, where he took the fish which the wayfaring man had given him to the royal cook, the master of the servants. The cook prepared the fish with spices and had set them before king Gunther, who spoke in wonder from on high: "Never has Francia showed me fish of this sort. Tell me quickly, from where was the man who brought them?" So the cook in his response related that a sailor had given them to him. Then the prince ordered him to summon the sailor. When he arrived, and was asked about the matter, he said these words, and told the story in order: "Last night, I was sitting on the bank of the Rhine. I looked and, behold, I saw a traveller coming quickly, with his limbs arrayed as if for battle, and he was entirely girded, oh great king, with bronze. For he was bearing a shield as he strode forth, and a glittering spear. He was certainly like a brave hero; he had a brisk step, although he bore a mighty load. A maiden of incredible beauty and becoming radiance accompanied him. And she led by the reins a fierce steed carrying two large chests on its back. When the horse shook its noble head and desired to prance on his great legs, the chests gave forth a sound like someone pounding gold with gems. This soldier gave these fish to me in payment." When Hagan heard these words (indeed he was also sitting at the table), joyfully he produced these words from his heart: "Rejoice with me, I beg, because I have learned this: my ally Walter has returned from the Huns." Gunther, who was prince, and haughty for this reason, cried out, and the entire hall then re-echoed to him: "Rejoice

with me, I command, because the All-Powerful has sent back to me, here into my kindom, the treasure which king Gybichus my father sent to Attila, king of the Huns." When he had said these things, he struck the table with his foot, and leaping up, he ordered them to lead in his horse and immediately to place the fitted saddle on him. Then, out of all the young men, he chose twelve noted for their courage and proven in spirit many times. He also ordered that Hagan be among them. Hagan himself, mindful of his ancient pledge and his former ally, tried to turn him from the plan. The king decided against him, however, and shouted: "Be not slow, men, gird your bodies with iron". And so the soldiers, arrayed with weapons, for the king's order demanded it, set out through the gates to capture Walter; but Hagan tried to forstall this in every way. But the unfortunate king did not want to come to his senses once he had begun his journey. Meanwhile, the famous man and great-hearted hero Walter, continuing on from the river, had come into the forest of the Vosges, called so from ancient times. Here there is a huge and spacious grove with many types of wild beasts; it customarily has the sound of hunting dogs and horns. In it, however, there are two mountains, in a remote part of it and near one another; and although the space is narrow, there is a pleasant cave in their midst. As soon as the youth saw it he said, "Let's go here." For not since he had departed in flight from the fields of the Avars had he tasted the quiet of sleep, other than when, leaning on his shield, he barely closed his eyes. So at last, laying aside his weapons, he said to the maiden as he fell into her lap: "Look around carefully, Hildegund, and if you see a dark cloud raised, warn me with a soft touch to rise. And if you notice a large troop passing, take care, my dear, that you not suddenly arouse me from sleep; but look around this entire threatening region." He spoke these things, and

immediately he closed his eyes that were desiring to enjoy fully the long-hoped-for rest. But when Gunther saw the tracks in the dust, he urged on his swift steed with savage spurs, saying, "Hasten men, even now you will catch him; never will he flee today, and he will relinquish the stolen treasure." At once, famed Hagan replied: "I say but one word to you, most valiant of kings, that if you had seen Walter fighting as many times as I have seen him, hot with fresh slaughter, never would you think he could be despoiled so easily. I have seen the Pannonian battle lines, when they wage war against the regions of the north and the south. There Walter, sparkling with his virtue, hated by his enemies, wondrous to his allies, went forth into the fray. Whosoever met him in combat soon saw Tartarus. Oh king and comrades, trust one who has experienced how mightily he rises up against a shield, with what a whirlwind he hurls his spear." But Gunther, burdened with a mind scarcely reasonable, could in no way be turned, and they drew near the camp. Hildegund was looking afar from the top of the mountain, and realized that they were coming from the dust they kicked up; with a gentle touch she warned Walter to wake up. She immediately relayed to him that a phalanx was flying toward them. Clearing his eyes that were held in a deep haze, he little by little dressed his stiff limbs in iron. And when the enemy was getting a little closer, and she saw their glittering spears, the maiden was greatly terrified and said, "The Huns are here." At once she fell to the ground and woefully spoke these words: "I beg of you, my lord, cut off my head, so that I who was not destined to be joined in marriage, afterwards will not suffer the joining of my flesh to another." To her Walter said: "Far be it, that which you ask; put aside this terror of your mind. I believe the Lord Himself, who often has led me out of various dangers, is able to confound our enemies here." Thus he spoke, and lifting his gaze he addressed her:

"These are not the Avars, but Franks, Nivilonos, inhabitants of this region." He looked carefully, and knowingly added with a smile: "Look, the helmet of Hagan, my ally and comrade of old." Then the hero went to the entrance of the cave, and again spoke to the woman standing below: "Before this gate I make now a proud statement: No Frank returning from here will be able to announce to his wife that he has presumed to take such treasure." He had not even completed his speech, and, behold, he fell to the ground and sought pardon because he had said such things. When he arose however, observing things more carefully, he said: "Of those whom I see, I fear no one except Hagan, for he knows my ways in battle, having learned them before now; and he himself is clever and has skill enough. If perhaps I catch him alone, with God willing, I have no fear of any others." But when Hagan saw that Walter remained in position, he suggested to his haughty ruler: "Oh, Lord, cease provoking this man to war. Let some man go first to inquire after his lineage, fatherland, name, and the place he has come from; or if perhaps he might seek peace, offering it without bloodshed." The king unwillingly acquiesced to Hagan's advice, and at once sent some of his men, demanding that Walter turn over the money which he was carrying. Walter is said to have responded words of this sort to them: "I did not take it from his father, nor from him, but if he wishes to seize it, I will defend it with force, while shedding others' blood." And when these things had been reported to Gunther, he immediately sent men to fight him. The hero, however, brave man that he was, courageously defended himself from them for a short while, then killed them. The king, when he saw this, with wild passion, joined the rest of his men himself in attacking Walter. But Walter, fearing nothing, stood even more bravely in battle than before. Walter seized the victory from them, and they were all killed, except the king and

Hagan. When they were able by no means to conquer him, they pretended to flee. Walter, hoping that they were leaving, therefore returned to the cave. After gathering all their supplies and mounting their horses, both he and Hildegund began to go on their way. But when Walter had gone about five or eight stades from the cave, the king and Hagan alertly ran after him, thinking that he was already defeated now that he was outside of the cave. Immediately Walter like a raging lion protected by his weapons bravely fought those who were fighting against him. Waging war for a long time one after the other, and failing from weariness and thirst, they were not able to overcome that bravest of men. And at last, looking back, they saw a flask of wine hanging from Walter's saddle.

10. Meanwhile in that same monastery in accordance with the custom of those times, there is said to have been a wagon made of wood, and decorated most beautifully. In this wagon it is said they carried nothing sometimes other than a measuring rod which very often was fixed in it, if the necessity arose; otherwise the rod was taken out and stored in another location. On top of the rod, according to those who either saw it or heard about it from those who did see it, they had hung a bell, and a very loud one at that. In Italy the monastery had farms and villages which were very close to it, in which the servants of the monastery at appropriate times would gather grain or wine. When it was necessary for these stores to be conveyed to the monastery, however, this wagon was sent with its rod affixed to it, with its bell, to the aforementioned villages. In these villages some other wagons were gathered, usually one hundred, sometimes an additional fifty, which carried the wine to the aforementioned monastery. This lordly wagon from the

monastery was sent for nothing else but that all the officials could recognize that the wagons were from that famous monastery. There was no general, marquess, count, leader, viscount or overseer who would dare to bring any sort of violence against these wagons. Also during the annual markets of Italy, so they say, no one dared to begin business until the merchants had seen that particular wagon arrive, with its bell. One day it happened, therefore, that the servants of that church, with the above-mentioned loaded wagons, were returning in their accustomed way to the monastery. Arriving at a certain meadow in the valley, they came upon the king's attendants pasturing the royal horses. As soon as the king's men, puffed up with their contemptible pride, saw that such goods were being delivered to the servants of God, they immediately rushed upon them, taking away from them everything that they were carrying. Wishing to defend themselves and their belongings, the monks incurred an even greater disgrace, losing everything. They immediately sent a messenger to the monastery to relate these happenings to the abbot and the brethren.

11. The abbot, however, ordered the brothers to be gathered, and made known to them the entire outcome of the affair. The father of the monastery's congregation at that time was a man named Asinarius, outstanding in piety, of Frankish stock, shining in many virtues. The one named Walter, whom I made mention of earlier, responded to him that he should send there wise brothers, on account of whose entreaties the thieves might give up their violent theft of this plunder. The abbot replied to him at once and said: "I have no idea whom I could send more prudent and wiser than you. I advise and command you therefore, brother, to go to them with all haste, and demand that they immediately return

to us the supplies that they seized by force; otherwise they will quickly incur the heavy wrath of God." But Walter, because he knew in his wisdom that he would not be able to endure the arrogance of those men, answered that they would strip him of the tunic which he was wearing. The father of whom I spoke, since he was a holy man, said, "If they take your tunic from you, give them also your hood, saying that this has been commanded to you by the brethren." Walter replied, "What will I do about my cloak and stole?" The venerable father replied, saying, "Tell them about these that the same response was also enjoined upon you by the brethren." Then Walter: "I beg, my lord, be not angry if I inquire further: what will happen about my breeches, if they wish to do what they did previously?" And the abbot replied, "Let the humility already displayed suffice you; for I decree nothing to you concerning your breeches, since your humility will seem to me to have been great in the despoiling of your other vestments." After he had heard these things from his great father, Walter, as he prepared to set out, began to ask servants of the monastery whether there was a horse there which was steadfast in war, should the need arise. When the servants of the church responded to him that they had good and strong horses for wagons, he demanded that they be brought to him at once. When he had seen them, he mounted each of them with his spurs, to test them. When he had ridden the first ones and then the next ones, and they displeased him, he refused them all, pointing out the faults of each. He then remembered that he had recently brought into the monastery with him a strong and mighty horse, and said to them, "That steed, which I brought when I came here, is he alive or dead?" They responded to him, "He is alive, master. He is a bit old now; furthermore, he has been designated for the millers' use, and carries the daily grain, bringing it here for grinding." Walter said to them, "Let him be brought to us, and

let us see how he does." When the horse had been brought to him, and he had mounted him and ridden him, he said, "This horse has retained well my training, which in my earlier years I made sure to teach him." Walter therefore said farewell, after receiving the blessing of the abbot and the rest of the brethren. He took with him two or three servants and quickly came to the previously mentioned brigands. After he greeted them humbly, he began to admonish them not to bring any further injury to the servants of God, as they had done before. When they began to respond to Walter with harsh words, however, Walter answered them right back with harsher ones. The men, now indignant and aroused by their spirit of pride, forced Walter to take off the clothing with which he was garbed. But Walter humbly obeyed all their commands, according to the precept of his abbot, saying that the brethren had commanded him to do this. And when they had despoiled him, they began also to take away his foot coverings and sandals. However, when they came to his breeches, Walter opposed them for a long time, saying that by no means had the brethren commanded that he remove his breeches. They then answered that it was no concern of theirs what the orders of the monks had been; Walter in reply asserted that under no circumstances would he agree to relinquish the breeches. When they began to use force against him, Walter secretly took from the saddle the stirrup on which he had been resting his feet, and struck one of them on the head, who fell to the ground as if dead. Walter then grabbed the weapons of this brigand and began to strike out left and right. Then looking around him, he saw a calf grazing, and grabbed it, ripped its leg off, and began beating his enemy with that, pursuing them and scattering them throughout the plain. Some say, however, that the one who assailed Walter more importunately than the rest, while he was bending down to take his sandals off his feet,

Walter immediately struck with a blow on the neck so hard that the thief's bone³⁵ was broken and fell down his throat. Many of the robbers were killed and the rest were put to flight, leaving everything behind. Walter then, after he obtained his victory, took everything, his own goods and the others', and returned at once to the monastery, laden with his great spoils. The abbot, however, when he saw these things, which he had already heard, then and there groaned and with the rest of the brethren gave himself over to lamentations and prayers for Walter, and admonished him harshly. Walter truly accepted his penance immediately from the father, lest by such a wicked deed he be overcome with pride in his body, whence he could suffer the loss of his soul. Some say, however, that he fought three times against the attacking pagans, and, taking the victory from them, expelled them from the field in disgrace. Others relate that at another time, he was returning from a meadow of the monastery, called "Mollis," from which he had driven out the horses of King Desiderius, which he had found there grazing and damaging the pastures. After battling many of the king's men, he conquered them and, as he was returning, he found near the road a marble column, which he struck twice with his dagger, as though with joyful spirit from his victory. Cutting out the greater part of it, he knocked it onto the ground. And even today the column is called, "The Blow or Strike of Walter."

12. At some point this great-hearted man Walter died, a famous count and athlete, as an old man, full of days. Our people assert that he lived for many years, whose exact number I have not discovered. But through the *Acta* of his life it is known in what times he lived. He, as one reads, was most strongly endowed in his life with good sense and

³⁵ The thief's Adam's apple? Thanks to Francis Newton for this point.

beauty of body and of face, and thus in the afore-mentioned monastery, after his conversion from a soldier, he is known to have been most fervid in his love of obedience and discipline of rule. Among other things which he did in that monastery, he made, even while he lived, a tomb on the summit of a certain cliff, cut laboriously from rock. He is known to have been buried in it, after the death of his body, along with his grandson, named Ratald. This Ratald was the son of Walter's son, Ratherius by name. Hildegund, the maiden named before, bore this son to Walter. Often visiting the tomb of these men, many years after their death, I had their bones in my hands. Indeed a certain noblewoman, when she arrived there to pray with others from the land of Italy, placed the head of Ratald secretly under her cloak and carried it away to her own castle. One day when a fire had been set, the castle was burning down. After a great part was burned she remembered the head, and taking it outside held it up to the fire, which then miraculously was extinguished.

13. After the invasion of the pagans, which happened for the last time before this place was rebuilt, the above-mentioned grave of Walter was totally forgotten by the inhabitants of the place, as were likewise others elsewhere. There was at that time in the city of Susa, however, a widow named Petronilla who, so it is said, walked totally bent over on account of her extreme old age, and whose eyes were clouded over. Indeed this woman had a son named Maurinus, whom the pagans took by force from this valley and abducted along with other captives. He remained with them more than thirty years, so he used to say, in their land. After receiving permission from his lord, he returned to his home, where he found his mother now worn out with age, as we said above. She was

accustomed to sit daily in the warmth of the sun, on a large rock which was near the city. In a circle around this woman, men used to gather along with the women of the town, asking her about the history of the place. She told them many things, especially about the monastery of Novalese. She said to them things that they had not heard before, which she had seen or had heard from her ancestors: how great the abbots had been, and how great had been the destruction of the place perpetrated by the pagans. One day she had herself brought there by some men and showed them the tomb of Walter, which previously was unknown, as she had heard from her ancestors, although no woman at that time dared to approach that place. She told them also how many wells there used to be in that place very recently. The inhabitants said of this aforementioned woman that she had lived nearly two hundred years.

14. In ancient times there was a monastery under the dominion of Novalese in the valley of Bardonisca, which was called "Plebe Martyrum"³⁶ because once monks of the monastery had been killed in it by the pagan Langobards, with others of diverse station and gender when they had made a sort of escape there, at the time when the Longobards also laid waste the monastery of Novalese itself. Among these monks was killed a certain monk named Justus, who was indeed just in name and deed, and another whose name was Flavian. The epitaphs of these monks were placed near their heads at the time of their slaughter. One of them read thus: "Here lies the monk Justus, the brother of Leo, a follower of the blessed St. Peter." I have forgotten the other one.

³⁶ Alessio, p.115, n.1, "Da identificarsi con Oulx."

15. In that same monastery there always occurred many visitations of saints, who would appear very often to righteous monks and men of humbler rank. As God is my witness, I heard from some of them that such a throng of blessed men in white robes would appear there to the good people, in the still of the night, as you might see when all the men and women go from some city at the same time (as the Christians do at the time of the rogation) when they are going through the churches seeking suffrages of the saints...

(17)...to the noble, who himself immediately granted to the place and to its abbot, for the reason that it was near the previously mentioned monastery. And the archbishop received the aforesaid cell of nuns, in the name of Saint Peter, in his own city.

18. That most famous man, greatly enriched by God in spirit and works, the nobleman already often mentioned, fearing that the monastery, along with the entire donation he had given from his wealth and his lands, his servants and his maidservants, to the monastery of St. Peter at Novalesse, which with a devout spirit he had made his heir, as we have said above; fearing that this monastery sometime later, after many cycles of years, might be destroyed by one pagan or another – which indeed, alas! we have read happened three times – he ordered an arch to be built in the city of Susa, of the whitest marble and various types of stones, wondrous in beauty and height. It was attached to the city walls on the outside, and the road used to run under it, by which one goes, following the aqueduct to the castle of Vienne. He caused to be written on both sides of the arch what sorts of things, and how many in that city and in the entire valley, he had handed down to his heir, the blessed Peter. If one day, therefore, the monastery should be

destroyed at the insistence of the envious devil, the monks who wished to rebuild and live there again would discover by reading on the arch what lands were understood to belong to the place. Therefore, then, this most zealous father wished these things to be written on this arch, so that the more people who read it, by that much less would the monastery's prestige lie hidden. That is to say, that those who were crossing from Italy to Gaul would immediately have this inscription above them before their eyes; likewise, those who were taking the road from Gaul to Italy would have from the other side of the arch these things which they could read. And, so that the monks of that monastery would know what Abbo himself had there, at one time, decreed. Likewise, through all the villages and courts, he commanded these inscriptions to be made; and they remain to the present day. He himself lived in the castle of Vienne, in which he ordered some stones to be inscribed with the same information.

19. There were, however, at that time many monasteries subject to this monastery, namely in Francia and Burgundy, in Italy and in Gaul, and likewise throughout various provinces, as also the two monasteries in Rome, and two others in Angoulême. After the persecution of the pagans had occurred in Novalesse, the monks who were from Francia then fled to their own lands, maintaining there their cells which had been established earlier under their jurisdiction. Likewise others did the same thing, and then still others, bringing with them books and documents from that most ancient place. When the third destruction happened, however, that place remained, sacred and dedicated to God, for years without habitation of any man. And thus it happened, that those who had come from Francia or other places, as we said above, and had fled from here because of their

fear of the pagans, when these men did not return afterwards to Novalese, they could not be recognized any longer as brothers by the monks from Novalese, since all the monks in the above-mentioned years of the monastery's abandonment had died.

20. I will relate further miracles here, which, on account of the great importance of this place, ought to be mentioned. There was then, in our time among the servants of this monastery a certain plowman, born in a certain little village, near the city of Vienne, who was named Gislard; he is said to have served there more than forty years. This man stirred one day at twilight, to send his cows into the meadow in front of the monastery for grazing. Upon his arrival there, he settled down and immediately went to sleep. When he stirred from his quiet nap, as soon as he stood up, all the hair of his head and his beard immediately fell off onto the exact place where he was sleeping. Those who had seen him before say that he was extremely hairy and had a flowing beard. He lived with me for three years, and I very often and richly enjoyed his conversation and his company. At another time, a troop of soldiers arrived at the monastery to pray. When they all had settled for the night, one of them, whom they had set to guard the horses, led them to this same meadow so he could refresh them with a meal of grass, and he followed them in. When he lay down and went to sleep, all the hair fell right off his head. The man, when he stood up, soon saw that his head was bald, and was shining as though he were wearing a bright, gleaming helmet on his head. When his friends saw what had happened they immediately marveled, saying, "You have slept on the tomb of some saint." He, however, was extravagant in his tears, and seemed to endure these things unwillingly and

with the greatest sorrow and shame. But why wonder if such miracles happen in this place where there were once many and diverse martyrdoms?

Book II Ends

The Chapter Headings of Book Three Begin

1. About a certain most notable and outstanding man named Magfred.
2. About his son named Frodoin, whom while a boy he entrusted to the monastic order of Novalese for instruction.
3. That this same boy growing in obedience under the abbot flourished, and advanced continuously from virtue to virtue.
4. That after the death of the father of this monastery, this abovementioned Frodoin was ordained in his place.
5. That no one among men is able to recount fully his wisdom and his sanctity.
6. That in the period of his abbacy, God through a vision told Charles, king of the Franks, that he should hasten to Italy in order to subjugate it under his dominion.
7. That, when he first passed by Mount Gemino, he rested in Novalese for some time with his army.
8. Where he consumed with his troops all the foodstuffs of the monks.
9. About Desiderius, king of the Langobards, who wished to cut off every entrance to Italy from him.
10. About a jester, who came to him and promised that he would show him a path without deceiving him.

11. About the Holy Abbot Frodoin, who sent two monks to him, entreating him to deign to have a meal in the morning before setting out.
12. About the miracles of the blessed Frodoin, and what admiration the king had for him ever after.
13. Where he promised to do many good things there in admiration of its sanctity.
14. That after the invasion of Italy he granted to this blessed man a certain royal property, Gabiana by name.
15. About his son Hugo, whom he asked the blessed man to bring up in the monastic profession.
16. About a cross, which this same most holy man erected in this place, and what relics he placed in it.
17. That he remained in the abbey without stain for forty-three years.
18. About the written documentation of this place, which he renewed.
19. About the servants of this church, who lived in the village of Oziat, and how he found them guilty before the legates of the king.
20. About the documents of immunity granted by Charles, King and patron, to the abbot Frodoin.
21. About the monk Attapert.
22. About the Emperor Charles, and Algisus, the son of king Desiderius.
23. Why Charles wished to kill him.
24. How he escaped and fled to his mother Anza.
25. About the abbot Amblulf.
26. That after Amblulf, Hugo was elected to the abbacy.

27. About the fact that he ruled the abbey successfully in his times.
28. About the death of Emperor Charles.
29. That in these times war broke out among four brothers, the sons of Charles.
30. That on the day when battle was begun the devil announced it to the Romans.
31. About the monastery of St. Medard.
32. About the death of Abbot Hugo.
33. About Emperor Otto, who after many years wished to visit Charles.

The Chapter Headings of Book Three End

Book Three Begins

1. There was around these times in the kingdom of the Franks a certain famous man named Magfred, who himself was Frankish; and this was in the time of Pipin, duke of the previously named race. This man indeed, as some say, traced his lineage from the kings of the Franks of ancient times; he was rich in wealth and bolstered by earthly farms. Also in these days, Liutprand, king of the Langobards was actively ruling in Italy. Liutprand is said to have had feet that measured a human cubit in length. The measure of his feet is considered the customary unit of measurement for fields among the Langobards, even to the present day, such that twelve of his feet on a pole or a rope equals one *tabula*. He was pious to orphans and widows, merciful in judgements, was generous in alms for the poor, the benefactor and the leader of the churches of God. In this period, Saint Baudilino was at Forovicium, and Saint Evasius was bishop of the see of Asti. So, Pipin sent his little son, named Charles, to this king to be shorn of his hair according to custom,

and so that he would become a spiritual father to him. This he did; for he returned him to his father laden with many gifts. And when Pipin had departed this world, with his son Charles now ruling, the Saracens, invading his lands, were laying waste to everything. Charles immediately, through messengers to Liutprand, demanded that he come with his Langobards into Gallia to help him. Indeed the Franks together with the Langobards and the neighboring provinces dispelled the Saracens ignominiously from the land. Not much later the glorious king Liutprand died and in his place Desiderius was raised up as king. He had a wife named Anza. But about these things let what has been said by us suffice; I should return to my story straightaway.

2. This same man, or Magfred, had among his other sons one named Frodoïn, who was, as I have read, a father of great authority and wondrous sanctity in the community of Novalese. Indeed, when he was a little boy the father already named entrusted him to the abbot at the monastery of Novalese, and he shone forth throughout the world in those days because of his great virtues. It is thought that the abbot of the monastery at that time was Asinarius of blessed memory. Indeed he was himself also of the race of the Franks, and was at this time of the greatest renown among the nobility of the Franks. The father gave then many tracts of land to this son, whom he entrusted to monastic authority for instruction.

3. This same boy was brought up and educated in all knowledge of letters, and in all those things which it was befitting for him to be taught, and when he became a youth, he began to be engaged in many exercises of good works, and he so used to humble himself

to his wiser and holier elders, that no one in the monastery was thought to be close to him in obedience and submission. And thus growing daily from one virtue to the next, he flourished in all good works. Who, therefore, is able in speaking to expound his deeds? Before that could happen, as I think, time would fail, the tongue would weaken, the mind would wither, even if the limbs of his entire body were turned into tongues, they would not be able to speak his virtues, in which exerting himself day and night, that is even in vigils, in which he outdid the others, in particular prayers, in the maceration of the body, in abstinence of food and drink, in kindness, humility, obedience, patience, chastity, mildness, submission and, as we said before, the days would fail before the tongue would be able to set forth the good deeds of his works.

4. And so the beneficent father Asenarius departed this world. Immediately a man greatly praiseworthy, the lord bishop Witgar, succeeded him as abbot. When he died, the most glorious shepherd Frodoin succeeded him, following his sanctity. Also in the election of this abbot, it was asked of God who of them all was worthy to receive such an honor. Soon it was divinely revealed to them that Frodoin was worthy of this. There had been a practice in that place, from ancient times, that when the abbot died no one was chosen as shepherd of the flock there until all the brethren unanimously and in common consent beseeched the Lord day and night, in abstinence, for two or three days. And so after this supplication, they were found by God worthy of this task; and therefore, because it came about through the will of God, better always followed good. Indeed I did not see these things or discover them in some book, but I learned them by hearing.

5. Furthermore, there was such vigilance and zeal for sanctity in the blessed abbot Frodoïn, that I would not dare to compare in virtues and merits anyone in these lands to him, neither abbots nor bishops, nor anyone living in the pursuit of sanctity. Indeed, although no one among men could relate fully, in any way, his wisdom or sanctity, nevertheless at the end of this little work perhaps I will say something miraculous and incredible about him.

6. Therefore at that time in which the report of this most holy man was shining, sparkling throughout the corners of the earth, the Lord Almighty deigned to show through a vision to Charles, king of the Franks, that he should hasten as quickly as possible to Italy in order to subjugate it under his dominion. Charles immediately calling together the neighboring peoples, gathered an army filled with a strong band of Franks; he then decided to go swiftly to Italy with his troops.

7. This same king meanwhile moved his huge army and came to Mount Gemino, or the doorway to the realm of Italy, it can be called, where once there had been built a temple of great beauty to the honor of some false god – that is to say, Jove – built of squared-off stone joined with lead and iron. Also in that mountain arise two springs, one from one side of the mountain, another from the other side, and both descending into their valleys, growing little by little, become great rivers. Indeed one, whose name is Dora, always flowing muddy through Italy, bearing few fish, doesn't change its name until it merges with the Eridano, mightiest of rivers. The other, however, extremely fish-bearing and clear, runs along through the province of Gaul, until it comes into the Rhone River.

When Charles was descending from this mountain, he found on his descent from the mountain a certain tower under which ran a road, in which was waiting a thief with his band of thieves, named Ebrard; committing many evils there with his men, he did not permit anyone to cross unharmed; they were either robbed or beaten or killed; and so, too much innocent blood was poured out there. Doing battle against this bandit, Charles defeated, captured, and killed him, and he destroyed the tower itself. Moving his army on from there, he came to the monastery of Novalese, where he stayed with his army for a very long time.

8. And when the king had occupied the entire Susa valley with his men, he himself came, as we said above, to this most famous monastery of Novalese; where he stayed for so long that all the goods and foodstuffs of the monks were consumed at his meals. But he did not linger there without reason. Indeed, the monastery in those days was extremely wealthy and most rich in resources, and had been well-stocked by the most holy father.

9. So, before the arrival of Charles, Desiderius, king of the Langobards, hearing that Charles was going to move against himself, wrote to all the powerful men and magnates of his kingdom; he asked them what he should do. Responding, they said that with a small army it was not possible for them to meet Charles, who was attacking with a large force. "But," they said, "order all the valleys and entrances of Italy, through which it is possible to cross from Gaul to Italy, to be closed with wall and rock from mountain to mountain and thus with fortresses and towers prevent their arrival." He did as they said. And even up to the present day the foundations of the walls are evident; just as they run

from Mount Pirchiriano all the way to the village of Cabrium, where a palace was built in those days to watch over it.

10. When these things had been done by Desiderius, and the Franks were able to find no entrance anywhere, part of the army of the Franks was arriving every day, mostly a thousand, sometimes two thousand; they attacked and besieged the Langobards, who resisted them from above with their defenses. King Desiderius had a son named Algisus, strong in courage from his youth. He used to carry an iron staff while riding in battle, and his enemies would be laid low by him as he struck them forcefully. However, when this youth was keeping watch day and night and saw that the Franks were resting, suddenly bursting in upon them with his troops, he would strike right and left, and would destroy them with great slaughter. While this was occurring every day, it happened that a jester from the race of the Langobards came to Charles and sang while playing the lyre a little song composed by himself about this matter within view of his own people. The basic idea of this little song was something in the way of: “What reward will be given to the man who leads Charles into the realm of Italy through the paths where no spear will be raised against him, and no shield will be struck, and no harm will be received by his men?” When these words came to Charles' ears, he summoned the jester to him, and promised to give him anything that he asked after the victory.

11. Charles then commanded his men to be ready for a journey early the next day. When the most blessed father Frodoïn realized this, immediately he sent two monks to Charles, requesting that the next day before setting out he would deign to have a meal. Charles

responded to them, "Indeed already many days have passed, in which my men and I have consumed all your stores at our meals." But they insisted, persevering, that he deign to carry out the requests of the holy man. And he said, "I shall do what my lord orders." As they were leaving, he ordered his men to stay awake all night and to search all the gates of the monastery, lest from any direction food or drink should be brought in. For he knew that no food or drink or anything to eat remained in the monastery. But he knew that in all things the man was holy.

12. So that night this most blessed father spent the whole night awake, and with tears beseeched the Lord, who always had deigned to supply trays of food to his servants in the mountains and in the desert places, that He deem it right to have pity on him, offering food to the monks, and that He who in a desert region had satiated five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes, would deign to satiate his guests. After he had prayed all night with these prayers and others of this kind, he discovered at the break of day such a quantity of wine and bread in the cellar as he was ever able to accumulate through his own labor. Indeed all the wine casks were full of the best wine, and the granary itself was full. When it was day, and the king was taking his meal with his men, he asked how and from where this food had come to them. Everything was related to him in order; marveling, therefore, and exclaiming at the sanctity of this man, the king departed, praising and glorifying God.

13. The king therefore, before he departed, promised to do many good things there because of his admiration of the aforementioned abbot and his veneration of the place and

the gathering of brethren living there, because many men noble in birth, and nobler in faith, namely the children of the Franks, were there fighting for God. Truly, if anyone desired a bishop or an abbot for his own place, men were sought from among the monks of this monastery and from among the disciples of the blessed Frodoïn and from the followers of his teaching. Many such men, of wondrous and perfect sanctity, were serving in this monastery.

14. And so, gathered by the trumpet, the king's entire army and the king himself commended themselves to the prayers of the abbots and all the brethren. Then saying farewell, with the previously mentioned jester going before him, he began his departure. The jester, leaving behind all the roads, led the king with his men along the crest of a certain mountain, along a path which even today is called the "Road of the Franks." And when they had descended from the aforementioned mountain, they came down to a plain of a village whose name is Giaveno, and drawing themselves up there, they arrayed a battle line against Desiderius. Desiderius was expecting Charles in front of him, and was ready for battle; Charles rushed upon them from their rear, descending from the mountain. But when Desiderius realized this, he mounted his horse and fled to Pavia. The Franks, indeed, pouring out here and there, captured everything, detroying the castles and the villages. Then the previously mentioned jester, approaching the king, requested that he fulfill for him the promise which he had sworn to him earlier. Then the king said to him, "Ask what you wish." The jester responded, "I will climb one of these mountains and I will sound loudly a trumpet made of horn, and as far a distance as it can be heard, you will give that to me for my reward and gift, along with its men and women." And the

king replied, "It will be done for you as you ask." The jester, doing obeisance to the king, immediately departed, and climbing up one of the mountains, did as he had said. And, then descending, he went throughout the villages and lands, asking anyone he met, "Did you hear the sound of the trumpet?" If anyone replied to him, "Indeed, I heard it," he immediately gave him a box on the ear, saying, "You are my servant." And so, in this way Charles gave to him the land as far as the sound of the trumpet could be heard; and so, while he lived he possessed it, and his sons after him; these very subjects even to the present day are called "As Far As The Horn."³⁷ Charles then captured the city of Turin and all the towns and castles. And when he had come to Pavia, there was there at that time a holy bishop Theodore, who was then the bishop there; for his merits, it was decreed to Charles from heaven that while this bishop was alive in body, this city would not be captured by him; for thus it had been divinely revealed to Charles. Departing from there, however, Charles began to make a circle around this same city, capturing all the towns, namely Ivrea, Vercelli, Novara, Piacenza, Milan, Parma, Tortona, and those which are near the sea, with their fortifications. Then not much later, that blessed bishop died. It was reported immediately to Charles, that he had died; Charles, immediately gathering his whole army, headed to Pavia, surrounded it, and beseiged it. King Desiderius, after fleeing, was staying there with his son Algisus and his daughter. For Desiderius was very humble and good. Indeed some say that when Desiderius daily got up in the middle of the night and came to the church of St. Michael or of St. Syrus, or to all the others, the halls were opened immediately in his sight, by divine will. So, while the city of Ticino was being besieged for a long time, it happened that the daughter of Desiderius transmitted a letter which she had written to Charles, via balista, across the river Ticino,

³⁷ Transcornati.

saying in the letter that if he would deign to receive her in marriage, she would at once give to him the city and the entire treasure of her father. In reply to these things, Charles wrote such words to the girl which would arouse in her a greater love for him. She at once stole the keys to the gates of the city, keys which were at the head of her father's bed, and instructed Charles via balista that on that very same night he should be prepared with his troops to enter the city, when the sign was shown to him. He did as she said. So, when Charles approached, entering the gates of the city that very night, this girl ran to meet him, elated with the joy of his promise. Immediately she was trampled under the horses' hooves and killed; for indeed it was night. Then at the very tumult of the horses entering through the gate, Algisus, son of the king, was awakened, and with sword drawn was striking all the Franks entering through the gate. His father immediately forbade him to do this, because it was the will of God. Indeed, Algisus, seeing that he could not hold off such an army, departed in flight. Charles, therefore, capturing the city, ascended to the palace, where the entire citizenry came to him; and, receiving their oath of fidelity, he departed. A short time later the aforementioned king commanded the abbot of Novalesse, that is Frodoïn, to come to him; which he did. Charles gave to him a huge estate, called Gabiana, where there were a thousand manses with their dependencies. He gave this to Novalesse because of his reverence for the abbot. But some say that King Charles had put out the eyes of Desiderius in Ticino, when he captured him.

15. Then, after the invasion of Italy made by Charles, he set out for the land of Rome, where he deservedly acquired imperial rule and the honor of patrician status. When he was returning, he ordered that his young son Hugo be brought to him, and he

commended him to the blessed man Frodoin, and asked that he rear him in the sacred monastic profession. Frodoin, receiving him graciously, nourished and cared for him as befitted the son of such an emperor. Out of love for him, Charles bestowed on that place many tracts of land and much treasure. Indeed he donated the relics of the holy martyrs Cosmas and Damian, transferring them there; likewise he bestowed on the place the relics of Saint Waleric with the relics of other saints.

16. Therefore in his time the most blessed Frodoin made and amassed a great treasure there. With this treasure he had a cross made in this same place, of gold and silver, and worked also with precious gems; in it some say are held the most glorious relics, namely relics of the milk of the most blessed Mary and of her hair and of the foreskin of the Lord. Furthermore, the deeds of that cross show what relics were contained in it; for paralytics were cured, the blind made to see, demons put to flight, the sick healed, fires dampened, thefts discovered – things which very often we have both seen and heard through the merits of the blessed relics resting in it and of the blessed abbot Frodoin.

17. At that time blessed Frodoin wished the bequest of the church to be renewed, which earlier the patron Abbo had made regarding this same church, in the time of Theodoric, king of the Goths; he therefore sent two monks, named Egbert and Gislaram, to the great emperor Charles, so that he would grant with his imperial command that the bequest be renewed. Charles assented to him graciously, and Frodoin was able to gain all that he asked of him.

18. There was also at that time a village called Oziato, a dependency of the same monastery, which a certain man named Dionysius, with his son Hunno, now deceased, gave to blessed Peter of Novalesse, with its servants and maidservants, for the benefit of his soul. These servants, after many days, and after the death of their masters, began to rebel and bring suit against the monks and against the ministers of the church, saying, "Neither we nor our families belong to your monastery, for the reason that our ancestors did not belong to it." After a few days, legates of the Emperor Charles came into Italy to decide the cases of these people and of others; among the legates were Count Rapert and the bishop Andreas and the lord emperor's chaplain; among them also there were many judges, and assessors and local officials (whose names we would be able to mention, if not that we were heading swiftly toward other things), and they held court in the city of Ticino. Then father Frodoin sent two of his men, the monks Adam and Dodone, with Raimpert, a lawyer of that monastery from Feletto. Among them also were men from the village of Oziato, namely servants of the monastery. After the complaint was lodged and the case examined, it was decided thus [in favor of the monastery]. After a few years the aforementioned men again began to be annoyed and to repeat the same words as before, saying that they had been pledged and subjected to personal servitude absolutely contrary to law. Then King Louis, Charles's son, sent Count Boso with his judges into the city of Turin; among them was bishop Claudius of Turin, defending the monastery, along with two monks, provosts Agleram and Richarius, along with their lawyer. Then they put into the judges' hands the documents concerning this same village, executed by Dionysius and Hunno, father and son. These documents contained an account of how these men, along with the village, had been given into the jurisdiction of St. Peter of Novalesse. At

that time, indeed, father Eldrad was abbot of the monastery, and again these previously mentioned men were condemned in the sight of all those counts, judges, and the entire convocation.

19. But the most holy father Frodoin lived as abbot for forty-three years without blemish. When these years were completed, he departed this earth, full of days, six days before the Ides of May; he had been ordained in the priesthood on the fourth day before the Ides of February. For also in the text of the Gospels, which Attepert copied by command of that most holy father, we find at the beginning, among other things, these verses written: “If, reader, the question moves you, who had this book made, know these verses and also the author at least by name: Frodoin, who once was pastor and famous bishop, for throughout four decades and three years in addition, he was guardian of the fold and the flock, and remained without blemish. But Attepert was the scribe in the name of Christ.”

20. This same Attepert was a monk and a priest in this oft-mentioned monastery, namely in the times of the dear Frodoin. He was a servant of this monastery, as greatly imbued with the knowledge of letters as he was an extremely swift scribe of correct writing. As a matter of fact, he himself copied many diverse and very large books at the monastery in his time. Therefore, whenever we find among the other books ones written in his calligraphic hand, we immediately recognize them.

21. One time, however, when the realm of Italy was held under the peaceful sway of Charles, and Charles himself was residing in the city of Ticino, which by another name is

called Pavia, Algisus, the son of king Desiderius, dared on his own, like a spy, to approach the city, desiring to know what was happening and being said, as the custom is of the envious. Indeed, from his youth he was, as we related above, strong in his bravery and brash and most belligerent of spirit. When he had come into the aforementioned city, he was recognized by no one at all. He had come there by boat, not as the son of a king, but as though he were one of the regular crowd, surrounded by a small band of soldiers. Although he was recognized by none of the soldiers right away, he was at last recognized by a well-known acquaintance who once had been most faithful to his father. It had been a long time since he had lost his father and his kingdom. When he realized that he absolutely had been recognized by the man and that he was not able to hide, he began to beseech him with prayerful words that through the oath of fidelity which at one time he had made to his father and to himself, not to let King Charles know of his presence. The man agreed immediately and said, "Through my faith I will not betray you to anyone so long as I am able to hide you." Algisus responded to him, "Therefore I beg you, oh friend, that today at the king's table, when he is about to dine, you bring me to a seat at the head of one of the tables, and all the bones which are going to be taken from the table – those picked clean as well as those with meat, when they are removed from the sight of the gentlemen who are dining – see to it, I beg, that you place them before me." The man responded to him, "I will do as you wish." Indeed, he himself it was, who usually served the royal food. And when they had come to the anticipated meal, the man did everything that had been said. But Algisus shattered all the bones, devouring the marrows like a ravening lion devouring its prey. He made no small pile of the fragments of bones, lying under the table. Then Algisus, arising from there, departed before the others. But when

the king got up from the table, he looked and saw the aforementioned pile under the table, and said, "Who, oh God, has broken so many bones here?" Although everyone responded that they didn't know, one came forward and said, "I myself saw a very strong soldier sitting here, who was breaking the bones of the deer and bears and cows as one who was breaking stalks of grass." Then the server of the food was called before the king; the king said to him, "Who was that soldier, and where did he come from, who sat here and broke so many bones while he was eating?" The man responded and said, "I do not know, my lord." "By the crown on my head," the king replied, "you do know." Seeing that he was caught out, the man was afraid and immediately fell silent. When the king realized in his mind that this soldier had been Algisus, he grieved deeply, because he had allowed him to escape unpunished, and he said to his men, "In what direction did he go?" One of them said to him, "Well, lord, he came by boat, and so I think he departed in that way." And another one of his men said to the king, "My lord, do you want me to pursue and kill him?" and the king responded to him, "How?" "Give me the ornaments of your arms, and in that way I will trick him for you." So the king gave the gold off his right arm to the man, and he followed Algisus, so that he could kill him.

22. The man therefore raced swiftly across the land after Algisus until he found him. When he saw him at a distance, he called him by his name. When Algisus responded, the man told him that Charles had sent his golden arm ornaments to him as a gift, and scolded him because he had departed secretly in such a way; and he added that he should turn the boat to the bank. Algisus immediately turned the boat. When he drew near, however, and he saw the aforementioned gift was offered to him on the tip of a spear, he

knew right away that misfortune threatened him, and he at once placed his breastplate on his back, and grabbing his spear, he said, "If you hold these gifts out to me with a spear, I will receive them with a spear. For the rest, if your lord has sent gifts to me in treachery, so that you can kill me, I ought not to appear a lesser man than he. So, I will send my bracelets to him." Algisus therefore gave his bracelets to him, to carry back to Charles in return, and the man immediately retraced his steps; indeed his own caution had deceived him. So, when he had brought to Charles Algisus's bracelets, Charles immediately put them on; they went all the way up to his shoulders. Exclaiming, Charles said, "It is no wonder, if this man has great strength." The king however always feared Algisus, because he had deprived him and his father of the kingdom; and because he was a hero, laudable in his strength; for those reasons he had sent the man to kill him.

23. And so Algisus, after he had escaped the greatest peril, came to his mother, Queen Anza, who at that time had come to that region, namely to the city of Brescia, for the sake of prayer, where she had constructed with marvelous workmanship an oratory of the Saints Faustinus and Iovitta, and endowing it with many lands, created a very wealthy monastery. Indeed, she herself most recently, having paid a great price, had the relics of Saint Julia the Virgin brought there from the island of Corsica. And so, because we now have wandered afar in our narrative, let's return at once to our history.

24. Meanwhile the worldly death of blessed father Frodoin, as we related above, raised up the religious lord and monk Amblulf to the rule of his church. Amblulf had come to the monastery in the time of the lord Witgar, bishop and abbot. He was born of noble

parentage; and he was entrusted from his boyhood to God and the blessed Apostle Peter in the monastery of Novalese, by the testimony of good men. His devoted father most devoutly desired to offer him to God. For in the document of his oblation we find contained thus: “As it is held from antiquity legal and sacred and prudent when parents hand over their sons as gifts to God, to serve joyfully in the temple, without a doubt this example is provided most salubriously to us for fathers to hand over their sons. Indeed, I think that it is right for us to return our fruit to our Creator. And so I, Widilo, commend this son of mine, Amblulf, with offerings and petition in one hand, and with my other hand wrapped in the cloth of the altar, in the name of Saint Peter and Saint Andrew, and the rest of the saints whose relics are here contained. I hand him over to you, dean Warnarius, present in place of the lord bishop Witgar, and also to you, Richarius the provost, before witnesses, so that he remain permanently under the Rule. From this day it should not be allowed for him to remove his neck from the yoke of the Rule, but even more he should acknowledge that he will faithfully observe the strictures of this Rule and fight for the Lord with a grateful heart. And so that this our offering may remain unbroken, I swear with a solemn oath before God and his angels, that never through me, never through a designated agent, nor in any way through the use of my resources will I at any time give him the opportunity to depart from the monastery. And so that this petition may remain firm, I have signed it below in my own hand.”

25. However, when he had taken care to live blessedly and devoutly in this world, after many years casting off the burden of the flesh, he joyfully traveled to God. In his place the brethren immediately chose Hugo, a lordly and holy man, son of Charlemagne, to rule

the church of Novalese. Indeed, because of love for this Hugh, as we described above regarding his oblation, his father Charles gave many valuable bodies of saints, and various containers of gold and silver to Novalese. To it he also handed over estates in Italy and in the realm of the Franks and Burgundians, as much for his son, as for the love of his caring master, namely Frodoin, whose life and example he certainly emulated.

26. So he happily ruled the abbey of Novalese in his times, fortunately and wisely. He indeed had as many helpers and supporters as there were kings of Italy and Francia, namely Charles, his father, and his brother Ludwig and his grandson Lothar and others following after them. Charles therefore gave to this monastery, namely in the bishopric of Maurienne, two estates, Arva and Liana, and in Italy the estate called Gabiana, on which estate were numbered a thousand manses, with their appendages. Ludwig with his father Charles added to it the valley of Bardonecchia with the castle of Bardino. Lothar, indeed, making that valley the possession of the abbot Joseph, added in addition Pagnum, at one time a most rich and regal monastery, which at one time the ambidextrous King Astulf had founded. The documents of these kings about these above-mentioned estates and others are preserved in the monastery to the present day.

27. Indeed at this time, Charles, King of the Franks, Emperor and nobleman of the Romans, after he had spent seventy-six years of life in the world, departed from this sphere five days before the Kalends of February; for he held the realms propitiously for forty-six years while he lived, and died eight hundred and fourteen years from the incarnation of the Lord. Thus on his epitaph one reads: "After Christ, for the sin of the

world, had taken from the Virgin of the heavens the golden body suited to him, now the fourteenth year after the eighth century was flying along, and Charles, glory of the race of the Franks, earned the right to cross over the boiling waters of a wave-tossed world and to obtain the peaceful harbor. He, joyfully holding the scepter of the realm for forty-six years, as king joining kingdoms to kingdom, departed from this sphere on the fifth day before the Kalends of February having completed seventy-six years of life. Wherefore I pray, if you are moved by any prayers, you, reader, whoever you are reading the verses of this epigram, say, 'May the spirit of Charles obtain the star-bearing citadel.'" They say that at the funeral of Charles were his sons, namely Hugo, the abbot, with the rest of the brothers.

28. So about this time, when the sons of Charles [or rather, Louis] had not divided equally among themselves the kingdoms of their father, war rose up immediately among them. For, on the plain where several fountains arise (whence its name "Fontaneto"), there also gathered the four kings with their battle lines, and clashed sharply; several thousand men were killed there; they brought about no small slaughter. Although many from each side died, nevertheless it is agreed that after his brothers had been defeated, Hugo, with his son Lothar, gained the field and the victory. And thus having become the victors, they controlled the realm of Italy.

29. On that same day the devil, traitor of the human race, who had seen to it that these things happened among the brothers, announced this battle to the Romans. And so he settled in the highest windows of the church of the blessed Peter, as the people were

performing fully the office of the mass; he announced to them in a loud voice that the kings Charles the younger and Pipin, Lothar, and Ludwig were engaged in battle in the field previously mentioned. Noting the day and the hour, they found that it happened thus, as the devil had suggested to them.

30. Furthermore, there was in the land of the Franks a certain monastery most rich, founded in honor of Saint Medard the Confessor, which monastery recently Charles, for love of his son Hugo – whom he saw completely, step by step richly increasing in holy religion and sanctity, and, following the example of his teacher the blessed man Frodoin, progressing from day to day – gave to Novalese, so they say, when that father [sc. Frodoin] was the abbot. Antiphonies beautifully composed about the above-mentioned Confessor [sc. Medard] are sung through the abbey of Novalese, which seem to be sung in no other monasteries, especially within the realm of Italy. Indeed, we have heard of and seen that incomparable treasure and especial honor has been conferred by the very kings of the Franks upon that abbey previously named.

31. After a few years this same man, the venerable Hugo, when on a certain day, according to custom he was going around the cells belonging to his abbey, to observe and admonish, came into the land of Francia, where there were many cells erected under the dominion of Novalese. When he had examined part of them, he next took rest in the abovementioned monastery, that is of St. Medard the Confessor. When he had stayed there for a few days, he was struck by an infirmity of the body and began to sicken. From this sickness he indeed was led to death, and died there on the Ides of June, a man

most blessed in all things; and his sacred body honorably rests there, quietly, where it was buried. He was indeed outstanding in wisdom and sanctity, generous in alms, laudable in his piety, chaste of body, devout in mind, watchful in spirit, very handsome in the beauty of the body, as was befitting the son of such an emperor. Many years later, the abbot of Saint Medard told us that the aforesaid abbot Hugh was held in great esteem among the monks, on account of his virtues and the miracles that the Lord worked there through him, and that he was held in great esteem by the inhabitants of the region as well. After his death, the most excellent father Eldrad was set over the abbey. And so, we have taken care, in our times, to write most carefully, in praise of him, a Life of this father, as much as we were able to gather about his miracles and his virtues, as much seen, as heard and read, which the Lord deigned to work through him.

32. After many cycles of years, the Emperor Otto III, coming into the region where the body of Charles was entombed justly and was resting quietly, came to the place of his tomb with two bishops and Otto, Count of Laumellis; the emperor himself was the fourth. That same Count indeed told the story in this way, saying: “So we approached Charles. He was not lying down, as is the custom for bodies of other dead people, but was sitting on a sort of throne as though alive. He was crowned with a golden crown, holding a scepter in his hands, which were clothed in gloves, through which his actual fingernails had protruded. Over him, there was a small building made of rock and marble, well fashioned. When we got to it, immediately we made a hole in it by breaking it. But when we entered it, we perceived a very strong fragrance. We therefore immediately worshipped him on bent knees; and straightaway the Emperor Otto dressed him in white

vestments, and cut his nails, and repaired everything in disrepair around him. In truth there was nothing lacking from his limbs through putrefaction, but at the tip of his nose there was a small piece missing. Otto restored it immediately with gold and, taking one tooth from Charles's mouth, took his leave after the building had been reconstructed."

Book Three Ends

The Chapter Headings of Book Four Begin

1. About most holy Eldrad, the abbot of this place; where he was born.
2. That in those same times King Lothar once betrayed the royal monastery of Novalese.
3. About the bell tower in the monastery, commissioned by the king.
4. A letter of Saint Eldrad, directed to Florus.
5. Florus' return letter to the blessed Eldrad.
6. Florus again to the same abbot.
7. About a certain young monk carrying the shoulder-bone of a saint from his tomb.
8. About hunters driven away from one of his caves.
9. About oxen and horses which he has protected, and does protect, from illness.
10. About me too, whom he freed from tooth-ache.
11. About a certain horse promised to him; how he saved it from death.
12. About a revelation, the way in which it was revealed to a certain man staying in that valley.
13. About a plague on men, eased by him.
14. About a blind man given sight by him.

15. About a mute the shackles of whose tongue he released, in the presence of many.

16. About fifteen paralyzed men who were cured in his name.

17. About a sick woman healed in the city of Asti.

About the successions of the abbots of the monastery of Novalese.

About an admonitory letter sent to the brothers living in *solario*.

About Joseph the bishop and abbot.

About a noble man Erigar who with his wife gave over his estate at Vesenio to St. Peter of Novalese.

That in those times a great number of pagans crossing the sea by conveyance of ships invaded Fraxineto to live there.

That spreading out from there they laid waste to everything throughout the neighboring provinces.

That from fear of them, the overly timid abbot Domniverf fled with his people to Turin.

About the great treasure of the church of Novalese.

About the previously mentioned pagans, who after the departure of the monks immediately burst into the monastery itself.

Where they hid many valuables, throwing them into a well.

About two old monks.

That after the departure of the pagans, these two monks were killed by the herdsmen and shepherds of the monastery itself.

About the previously mentioned treasure, entrusted to the city of Turin, and later not recovered.

The Chapter Headings of Book Four End

Book Four Begins

[7. Holy Father Eldrad breathes out his soul. Buried in the monastery, he rests within a most worthy coffin.]

[18. And so Valchin, archbishop of Embrun was our first helper and founder; he was the uncle of Abbo. Next Godo, then Abbo II, then Joseph, then Ingellelm, Gislald, Asinarius, Bishop Witgar, Frodoin, Amplulf, Hugo, Eldrad, Bonifacius, Richarius, Heirard, Joseph, Conibert, Peter, Garibert, Georgius, Domnivert, Belegrim, Romald, Joseph, Gezo, Gothfred, Odilo, Eldrad, Benedict, Adregond thirtieth.]

[20. And then Joseph, bishop of Ivrea came to Novalese, and became a monk, and was chosen abbot under King Ludovic, son of Lothar, who gave the castle of Bardonecchia with its valley to Joseph.]

[21. Herigario with his wife Lea conferred Mount Vesenio on this monastery... Manfred was count of the palace in the time of Abbot Heirard...]

[22. Around these times a large part of the Saracens, crossed the sea in ships and invaded Fraxineto to live there; staying there for many years, they rendered it impregnable. It was hedged in by a very dense grove of exceedingly thick forests...The place itself, however, is situated above the seashore, near Arles in Provence.]

[23. Meanwhile, as the Saracens lingered in this land, they made incursions here and there, preying on and laying waste to all the provinces that were in their path, namely Burgundy, Italy, and others which were close by.]

[24. And so Abbot Domnivert, who then was in charge of the sacred church at Novalese, hearing this most profane report of them, and having become excessively pale in his terror of them, decided to flee with his people to the city of Turin, to his own detriment and ours. There was indeed in the previously mentioned city a church dedicated in honor of Saint Andrew and Saint Clement, which today is called Saint Benedict, that is near the gate of Susa, which for a long time had belonged to the abbey of Novalese. When the previously mentioned abbot arrived there, he soon settled with his people. I confess in truth, it would have been better for him and for all the monks to remain bravely in place, and to fear not to offer their necks to the sword for the love of God, so that through their death in the present world the entire territory of the monastery with all its holdings would have been a place [un]defiled and preserved – better this than to have fled in such a way and to have lost everything. Alas, alas! At that moment our most sacred mother church of Novalese lost all her honor and, furthermore, her dominion over all her churches...]

[26. From Fraxineto came the flood of Saracens who lived in unapproachable underground tunnels on a mountain surrounded by great forests. They devastated the province of Arles, as well as Burgundy and Cimella, and drowned all of subalpine Gaul in blood and fire. Because of this, the monks fled from the monastery of Novalese and

transported their precious items to Turin, to the temple of St. Andrew. And among all these things they brought six thousand books.

26. And then, after the monks departed from the monastery, this most dire race of Saracens occupied the place. Immediately plundering everything they could find, they burned all the churches and homes. Indeed, they found there two aged monks who had been left there to guard the churches and the houses; siezing them, the Saracens beat them, wounding them unto death...]

[30. And so the Abbot Domniverd came to the city of Turin with his monks and all their goods and an enormous treasure, and there they settled, building a monastery. There was at that time in the see of Turin a bishop named Wilielm under whose dominion was a prefect named Riculf. He was extremely well known and a great friend of the monks mentioned previously. When they came to this city, the monks did not have dwellings where they could store so many books and such a treasure. They therefore entrusted the treasure to the prefect Riculf, and they designated a part of the treasure for receiving a yearly allowance, as is the custom of strangers who do not sow where they live. Since the world was thrown into confusion on account of the fear of the Saracens, with the monks fleeing – some indeed....some died – Riculf himself also died, and he lost the treasure that had been given as surety. And so a great part of the treasure remained pledged along with the monastery's books, and it was not recovered thereafter. At this time the translation of the body of Saint Secundus the Martyr into the city of Turin occurred. Secundus was the leader of the Theban legion. This translation was brought

about by the lord bishop Wilielm in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 906. Wilielm composed a Passion of Saint Solutor³⁸, along with three “Responses.” He was suspended from the bishopric for three years to do penitance by the bishop of the Roman see, and by all the bishops who had convened in a holy synod.]

[Book Four Ends]

The Chapter Headings of Book Five Begin

- 1] About two Saracens who set a fire.
- 2] About Abbot Domniver.
- 3] About King Hugo and his son Lothar.
- 4] About Marquess Albert, the father of King Berengar.
- 5] About the relocation of the monastery.
- 6] About Abbot Belegrim.
- 7] About a certain soldier named Roger.
- 8] About King Berengar and his son Adalbert.
- 9] About the genealogy of the author of this book.
- 10] About Queen Adelaide, wife of King Lothar.
- 11] About the castle of Canossa, in which she was besieged.
- 12] About Otto, duke of the Bavarians, how he came to Pavia and took up power.
- 13] About the king’s wolf hunts.

³⁸ BHL 86: *Passio* (Adscripta Guilelmo ep. Taurinensi).

- 14] About the *mecuriorum*³⁹ of the brothers Arland and Garland, and how Marquess Albert acquired the region of Breme, and how he established there a monastery and and abbey.
- 15] About Abbot Romald.
- 16] About a certain Saracen named Aimo.
- 17] That other Saracens were expelled by him from Fraxineto and killed.
- 18] About the previously-mentioned Ardoin, how he took the Susa valley from Blessed Peter.
- 19] About the document concerning our abbey, which Marquess Ardoin secretly acquired from King Lothar.
- 20] About Abbot Belegrim, who sent a letter to Pope John about this same Ardoin.
- 21] About an old monk and his vision.
- 22] About the previously mentioned document, which was thrown into the fire by the Emperor Otto in front of everyone, by the intervention of Queen Adelaide; and about another document executed for the abbot.
- 23] About Count Sanson, who took the monastic habit in this monastery and then donated a building called Canobbio.
- 24] About two other counts, namely Roger and Obert, who took up the habit there.
- 25] About St. Benedict our father, who appeared there to a certain brother during Matins.
- 26] About Abbot John, and about Gezo, a modest and humble man.
- 27] About the monk Bruning.
- 28] About the prefect Hubert.
- 29] About another holy man.

³⁹ *mecuriorum* T *mecacitate* Cipolla.

- 30] About Guido, bishop of the church at Albese.
- 31] About Marquess Odo, who gave Pollentia with all its buildings to blessed Peter.
- 32] About a certain man encumbered with iron, whom Abbot Gezo released.
- 33] About the death of Marquess Guido, which blessed Peter made known to him.
- 34] About Leo, bishop of Vercelli.
- 35] About the holy martyrs Silvester and Frontinian, whom Gezo himself brought from the city of Alba.
- 36] About the holy martyrs Asus and Esagiola.⁴⁰
- 37] About the holy Valeric, abbot and confessor.
- 38] About a certain most impious man named Gontrann.
- 39] About abbot Gezo, who appointed lord Gotfred as his helper.
- 40] That he himself greatly feared the Lord.
- 41] About a certain monk, who one day gave him a slap.
- 42] About another monk named Stabilis.
- 43] About Abbot Gotfred, who, long after his death, appeared to a certain brother who was fleeing.
- 44] About a robber who committed a theft in the area near Novalese.
- 45] About a wolf which carried off a child from this same village and did not eat him.
- 46] About a herdsman of this church; how blessed Peter saved him from a serpent.
- 47] About the lamentation and wailing of demons.
- 48] About the devil who in the guise of a jester appeared to a certain brother.
- 49] About a certain saint who carried a staff in the guise of a shepherd and appeared to a certain brother.

⁴⁰*Aso et Esagiola T Ago et Acciola Cipolla.*

50] About a custodian of this church.

The Chapter Headings of Book Five End

Book Five Begins

1. At the time in which Saracens had been taken captive from the village of Fraxineto, two of them were being held bound in chains in the city of Turin by Arduin. Their savage madness by now had befouled almost the whole world. In that city a castle had been built, before whose gates there was a monastery dedicated in honor of the Saints Andreas and Clemens. So the Saracens, seeing the house of God ... *eti referr ... castro* ... to plan how ... *se vo*... they could free themselves ... through urging they set fire to the church ...[*s*]... the sacred buildings evaporated in the flames ... this vexation of mankind, that ancient pestilence committed such ... men, so that those whom you would have hurled headlong in the world ... *eq ... feciss ... commercium*. And so the house of God was consumed, and the others soon took flight. While they were fleeing, however, it happened that they immediately were violently seized by the guard, and afterward they suffered the martyrdom of the cross. Then truly we lost great wealth, many wills, but also many books which even today are displayed half-burned.

2. I wish now to say some things about Domnivert, who was abbot there, so that the sequence once begun might not be abandoned. We are not, however, able to say anything good about him; but anyway, we have to relate where he lost his mortal life and where he is buried. Fleeing persecution by the barbarians, and coming to Turin from the monastery of Novalese, he deposited the burden of the flesh in that monastery of which I have

spoken. Other than that, we do not have anything which should be handed down to posterity about him. He is remembered only with blame, because of this fact: that he did not seek to recover the property of the holy church after the persecutions had ceased, neither on his own nor through some other agent. He lived for forty-one years as the head of the abbey. Around this time King Rodolf ruled among the Italians.

3. We should not be cowardly in setting down the story of Hugo, a most clever man, who by his own command weakened the realm of Italy. He was born in the territory of Vienne, and ruled the kingdom of Italy. He then sent out observers and spies to go throughout the cities and castles so that people would not talk about him indiscreetly. Such terror then overcame everyone that they did not dare to speak about him openly, but speaking to each other in the manner of gossips, through hollowed-out reeds⁴¹, they plotted intrigue against him. This king had a son, and called him Lothar, who reached his young manhood, though he was sickly. Indeed his father rejoiced in this seed of death; he urged his son to take a wife. The son, obeying the commands of his father, indeed took a wife. But the father, after the dowry, inflamed by the torch of lust, violated his daughter-in-law before she could arrive at his son's bedchamber. Oh, the disgrace! Sodomite lust⁴² slithers into fathers, so that they inflict outrage on their daughters-in-law, and even on their daughters, as is read in the Life of Apollonius.⁴³ But divine right does not allow them to escape unpunished; for it struck the father with a thunderbolt that it

⁴¹ Speaking through hollow reeds a possible reference to Ovid's Midas legend? CN *calamos fossos* : Ovid *Metamorphoses*, 9.172-193; the barber speaks into thirsty earth (*terrae...haustae*), and the reeds (*harundinibus*) which grow there in the spring whisper the story.

⁴² Prudentius *Psychomachia*, v. 42.

⁴³ Apollonius of Tyre.

sent from heaven. After the perpetration of this sin Hugo was submerged in the whirlpool of the foul stream; for snatched suddenly by death, he entirely and appropriately lost his life. His son, succeeding him to the kingdom, took control of Italy. Therefore a putrid root born of briars, harming everything – and what he could not harm, he ground under his feet – made its way along the path of injury. When he was coming once from Pavia to Turin with his wife, on Wednesday, the thirteenth day of November, he gave an order to Marquess Arduin, the abbot of Breme. He died not long after, scarcely a month later, on Friday, the tenth day before the Kalends of December. He was taken to Milan, and is buried there in the tomb of his father.

4. After the death of these kings Berengar reigned with his son Adelbert. On Sunday, the fifteenth day of the month, in the city of Pavia, at the altar of Saint Michael, they were duly elected kings to rule over Italy. After being crowned, they then departed along with Willa, the wife of Berengar, in the ninth indiction.

5. In his times, a certain man lived, famous for his lineage, but more famed for his faith, named Marquess Albert, the father of this Berengar, so they say. When he saw that our monastery had been destroyed by the pagans, and that the monks were perishing from want, he gave them a church consecrated to the honor of Saint Andrew, near the Palatine Gate, next to the city walls, where the monks could carry on their divine work, with God their aid.

6. In this same place which we have mentioned above [i.e., the abbey of Breme], there was a certain abbot named Belegrim, humble and well-educated, learned and experienced in letters. And, as many say, he was the author of the hymn, “Almighty God and Father,”⁴⁴ which, according to general custom, is sung in all the places belonging to⁴⁵ the town of Breme in honor of God, on the Assumption of Holy Mary. Seeing that divine work could not be mingled with secular, he relocated the monastery, which had been constructed in front of the castle, to the church located near the city walls at the Palatine Gate.

7. And so this lord Belegrim, who was not well-versed in secular matters, was learned in the literary arts, but ignorant of all things which are of this world. Although he was noble according to the decay of this age, he nevertheless used to eat everything placed on the table before him, and did not inquire how or how well it had been prepared for him. Because of this, his slaves, overtaken by treachery, did not serve him the good supplies, but uncooked food, while they kept the good things for themselves. He therefore lost his life after nineteen years of this wicked age.

8. And so, while we are reweaving the Acts and Histories⁴⁶ of kings, it is fitting to speak of vassals. We will make an effort to speak about the unfortunate son of Arduin. Indeed, the tale of the elders says that there were two brothers, Roger and Arduin, and one client of theirs named Alineus. Wastrels, and in need of everything, they came to Italy from the

⁴⁴ *Omnipotens Deus et Genitor*, AH 51.147-148, Nr.127.

⁴⁵ CN *habetica* seems to have the sense of *habita*.

⁴⁶ It is unclear how specifically the author may refer here to genres or specific texts.

barren mountains. They bowed their heads to nobility; soon they were rich men. They swore to each other that if any one of them rose higher, the others would be his helpers and servants to his power. Oh, wickedness! The judgments of God are unforeseen, and men pledge rewards before they acquire them; but that which a desirous mind hopes for, it sometimes obtains in time to come. While they were discussing these things, Roger, greedy for earthly honor, seized the county of Aureatis. At this time, there was a certain count, named Rodulf, to whom the power over this territory had been granted. Clever Arduin, since he was not able to obtain this territory in any other way, became a soldier⁴⁷ of Rodulf, their hands joined in power. Then Rodulf himself, now weary from a long old age called Roger to him, sending everyone else away. “You see me; assailed by illness, I am no longer able to travel to the king’s court. I am sending you to him so that you may consider what ought to be done.” Roger indeed was not an inattentive listener, and soon fulfilled the words of his master’s command, and with swift journey went to the city of Pavia, for the king was staying there. When he reached the king, he greeted him with soothing words. Condescending to him, the king promised that Roger would have a gracious reward if he would attend him and make obeisance to him without doing harm. Lingerin for a time with the king, after a few days he returned to his own lord. Seeing that he had acted prudently, his lord called him closer, saying, “After my death, you will be the lord of his whole land, which I know that I have held for a long time.” And again bestowing various necklaces on him, he sent him to the king. He acquired his county, and the king bestowed it on him, with the queen’s consent. And when the count himself died, Roger took his wife, thus taking power over that land. From her he had two sons.

⁴⁷ CN: *militem fit*; accusative after *fio*.

He gave his own name to one; to the other the name of his brother – Roger and Arduin.

This Arduin had a son Maginfred.

9. Meanwhile, mindful of my own parents, how they were beset under the persecution of the barbarians often named, I will write it down, nor should this lie hidden from the memory of posterity. A certain soldier was my great-uncle, who, departing from the territory of Carricana, was hastening to the city of Vercelli. For he had heard about the approach of the barbarians, but was disinclined to believe it because at that time they were far from our borders. So while he was going through a certain grove in the jurisdiction of that city, suddenly infinite multitudes of Saracens jumped on him – they had already come to the borders of Liguria. They immediately joined battle, and there were injuries on each side. As these few men were not effective against such a great throng, they hid; some of them were captured alive. At that time my great-uncle was captured along with one of his servants; indeed master and servant were sentenced to death among the bulls⁴⁸. While these things were happening, by chance it happened that his brother, that is, my grandfather, was traveling to the court of the bishop. He saw my brother's servant bound to a bull; he was instantly horrified, and asked the reason that this had happened to him. The servant is said to have responded that when he had arrived there, he was captured by spies; thus maliciously hiding the capture of his master, for the sake of freeing himself. My grandfather immediately gave the captors the triple-layered breastplate which he was wearing, and released his brother's servant from his chains. After his release the servant revealed his deceit, that his lord had been captured, as

⁴⁸ *peccum dantur cum tauris.*

Terence says, “Everyone wishes better for themselves than for someone else.”⁴⁹ But the brother, grieving greatly that his brother had been captured, but nevertheless not having the money to redeem him, hastened to the bishop of the city, named Ingo, who was his godfather, so that he could give him some assistance. But, not having anything which would help, he looked carefully in all his hidden places for money, to see if he could find anything he could take. But, not finding anything in his possessions, he beseeched his friends and neighbors, and whatever he was able to obtain, he gave for the return of his brother; and thus he freed him from death.

10. But as we are taking up the names of kings, we will recount their deeds with easy telling. So, once Lothar was dead, his wife Adelaide was captured by Berengar and was held by force in a certain refectory in the city of Pavia, hemmed in by various disasters. But God, who sees all, allowing nothing without its remedy, who always is merciful to the humble, quickly set free the queen. For a certain little slave girl of hers, strengthened⁵⁰ by the right hand of Christ, freed her mistress with her own hands. This girl with her hands dug out the earth under the threshold of the doors, in a short time making a gap, and secretly freed herself and her mistress. Escaping from there, they hid themselves in marshy places, so that in this way they could flee. It happened, however, that a certain cleric named Warinus, going along that way as he was bird-catching, saw the queen. He pretended in jest that he was taken by love for her, and demanded an unspeakable wickedness. But the most noble queen refused his lascivious crime; he

⁴⁹ *Omnes melius malunt sibi esse quam alteri*, from Terence *Andria* 427: *Omnes sibi malle melius esse quam alteri*.

⁵⁰ Reading *praemunita* for *CN praemonita*.

threatened her with menacing words, saying that he would betray her to the king. While she was beset on all sides, she warned him that he should abuse the maid-servant lest he defile a queen. But the modest cleric, renouncing his jesting words, refused these vain ones. Not long after, he was made bishop of Modena, with this same queen conferring the title upon him. The queen, as we related above, was beset by all manner of troubles, and sought assistance from Atto, who was the grandfather of Bonefacius. Hearing her petition, he sent horses and carried the queen away to the castle of Canossa.

11. But King Berengar heard that the queen was staying at the castle of Canossa; he left Pavia with hostile intent, and, arriving at the castle, besieged it on all sides. In the midst of these events, that enemy of the human race addressed Atto: “If you will become my man, great wealth will be delivered to you.” Hearing these words, Atto responded that he would do what was necessary; he asked how he could do this. The devil responded, “This coming Saturday, someone else will arrive to guard the walls. You will not go away, but ask him that he grant you permission to remain there until vehicles will come on which you will ride.” And so it happened. Indeed his comrade arrived, and when he heard such petulance, he went back. In that same week the bishop of Reggio died; Atto took the castle by force; it had been that bishop’s. But now let us return to the story. So, while the queen was being besieged by Berengar and by Arduin Glabrio, she sought a plan by which she could escape. She already had run out of bread and wine; but God her helper gave her aid. For Arduin addressed the king, saying that he should permit him to speak with Atto; he agreed to this petition and ordered him to speak. Arduin approached him, and asked, “How many pecks of wheat do you have?” He responded, “We have no

more than five pecks of rye and three pints of wheat.”⁵¹ “Heed my advice,” he warned, “and capture a boar and feed him the wheat. Then you will send him out, and I will requisition him for the king. When he sees the boar, he truly will be greatly amazed, and thus you will be able to prevail.” Arduin did this because Atto was his son’s father-in-law. On the next day Arduin’s plan was carried out. The boar went out from the castle’s walls, Arduin captured him, the boar was killed, and when he was cut open, his stomach was found to be full of wheat. Marveling at this, the army said that they were laboring in vain; they left off the siege and returned to Pavia. But the queen remained in that castle for nearly three years.

12. At this time, Otto, the duke of the Bavarians came to Italy and, employing a delegation of Langobards, demanded the realm of Italy for himself through an appeal to the inhabitants. He took Adelaide in marriage, with God’s approval, and had her as his wife ever after. King Berengar, however, fled to the castle of Saint Julius, which is surrounded by a lake, and there he was besieged and captured by Atto and was left with his eyes gouged out. Then Atto was rewarded by Otto, because he was a faithful servant of his wife, and he handed over all the rights of that land. Without delay, Envy, who is also called Behemoth, again renewed his deadly words. “Behold,” he said to Atto, “I have done everything as I promised; now you fulfill your promise!” “I will do, as I said, what is necessary. The apostle instructs us that all things be done in the name of the Lord, and in His name I wish to act.” “You did not promise that!” the devil replied. But Atto signed himself with the sign of the cross, and the devil vanished like smoke.

⁵¹ *modius*, a dry measure equaling 1 peck or 16 dry pints; *sextarius*, a dry measure 1/16 of a *modius*.

13. We still wish to speak about the abbots of Breme, God willing. We will tell what we have discovered about the succession and the life of Romald. He was a God-fearing man, and entirely full of God, as his shining reputation later showed. Indeed he was as noble in body as he was in sanctity. For from his tomb emanates the sweetest fragrance, which, with God's aid, I drew in with my own breath. And I was completely filled with it, like someone sated with corporeal food. It is absolutely fitting for his flesh, when it was dead, to give forth the fragrance which, when alive, wafted through nearly all of Italy.

14. Before the aforementioned king Berengar was captured by Atto, he gave a command to all men living in the territory of Lomellina in the village of Folingo, that they should capture the wolves which were violently infesting that land on account of the dense shadows of its groves and forests. The men, obeying the king's decree, killed a great many and hastened to the royal court. Seeing the slaughter, the king rejoiced because previously those coming to or going from him had been exposed to great danger.

15. In these times, there were two mighty brothers in the town of Breme, wealthy and with countless possessions. These brothers used to place the yoke of dire servitude on the necks of their people, both in their private lives and in their daily labors. So, leaving behind this servitude according to royal command, the men bowed their heads only to the king. The brothers, swollen with pride, took the men away and punished them harshly; they plucked out the eyes of some, cut off the hands and feet of others, and condemned some to the squalor of prison. The plaint of these men reached the halls of the king;

greatly moved, he threatened the brothers that they would no longer be in possession of their lands.

16. Then a horrible fear assailed the brothers, and, fearing the threats of the king, they fled their borders. When they fled, a certain illustrious marquess named Albert followed them, gave them money, and bought half of their territory. Aimo obtained the other part for himself. In regard for the divine plan, he bestowed these lands on Saint Peter; because he did not have heirs, he made Saint Peter his heir.

17. Then the monks of Novalese chose this place for their main monastery. They saw that it was a suitable place, lovely and abounding in all things that can be eaten, in vegetables as well as in fish; also because it was populated and surrounded everywhere by supplies of water. Even today it offers a magnificent spectacle to all. It is more outstanding than all the other towns built in the territory of Lomellina, and is situated in the midst of the other cities, near the royal seats, and far from the devastation of the barbarians. Now, however, let us turn our pen to the persecution of the pagans.

18. Indeed, there is divine justice, which does not allow us to strive beyond that which we are able, but even in the striving it gives an outcome that we can endure. At the same time that the Moors were living in the castle of Fraxineto, and on all sides were flooding every region of the world, carrying off and preying on everything, there was a man named Aimo, who was their comrade. He set out with them to devastate that land, and they stole gold, horses and cattle, various valuables, and girls and boys. It happened that

while they were allotting the things they had taken, a certain very beautiful woman was assigned to Aimo's share. An altercation arose among them because of her, and one of them who was stronger than Aimo came and took her away from him. Aimo, however, swollen with rage, now remained apart from them. But God, wishing to free the people, fixed it in Aimo's heart how he could betray the hide-out as well as the men staying there. So, Aimo went to Count Robald, in the territory of Provence, and implored him not to betray to anyone the secret which he wished to tell him, not even to his wife. So Robald swore to betray it to no one. Aimo said, "Behold, I deliver unto you your enemies, the perpetrators of iniquity." Robald rejoiced greatly, and promised to grant him everything, if he could carry out this plan. Robald therefore commanded everyone, including Arduin, to help him in a certain undertaking. Everyone came to him, ready for battle. They argued among themselves, not knowing where they were heading, but Robald encouraged them to follow him. When they arrived at the castle, Robald exhorted them, saying, "Oh, brothers, fight for your souls, because you are in the land of the Saracens!" The brave men now fought heroically, and destroyed the hide-out. This revenge came about through the deception of Aimo, whose family line still remains in our times.

19. Also in these times, when the valley of Susa remained defenseless and uninhabited, the powerful Arduin siezed it and took it from us. He was as full of vices as he was of wealth, swollen with pride, enslaved to the pleasures of the flesh, inflamed by the torches of greed for acquiring the property of others.

20. Then, after the death of Belegrim, the provost John was appointed head of the abbey for two years; the office was bestowed upon him by Arduin. He never received consecration, but, with the help of God, when he was removed, the most tireless and humble Gezo succeeded to the abbacy.

21. Now, we desire to inform the unknowing brothers to come later what was done by Lothar under the regulations mentioned before. We would rather reveal it than hide it. Although we have picked out some things about him in another chapter, we have also left out other things which ought not to be omitted. There lived a certain marquess in those times, of whom we have very often made mention, named Arduin Glabrio. He can rightly be compared to wolves, as he violently stole others' goods, and was profligate with others' wealth. With a private legal document, he tried to take for himself the abbey of Breme. But, when the law obtained it for him, he paid a penalty deemed worthy by God: within a few days he lost his life and met his death.

22. After these events Otto obtained the kingdom of Italy, under the direction of divine will. Then the abbot Gezo, a man filled with God, lamented to the king the evils endured by the abbey for a long time. The king, consenting to his requests, commanded that the wicked document be brought into their midst and, in the sight of all the citizens, be burned. He then conferred another on Gezo, one which still remains in our archives.

23. Not long after, a certain count of the palace named Samson (as many say who are alive in our times) was betrayed by his wife and sought to follow our Rule. Tonsured at

the sacred threshold of Saint Peter, he became a monk in Breme, where he laid aside the burden of the flesh. He gave such riches to blessed Peter that its previous poverty was eliminated. For our straitened abbey had come to such need that it lacked food for sustenance. Samson donated gold, silver, horses, and cattle, and the house of God was repaired to its rightful state. As a matter of fact, he designated one courtyard, called Cannobio, in which royal custom might be preserved. It is situated near cliffs, a habitable and very sunny place. On all sides it is enclosed by the meandering of streams with a great abundance of fish. At its mouth there is a lake of marvelous size which extends forty miles in length and five miles in width. It roils sometimes from blasts of the winds, so that no one dares to embark on it; when anyone goes down in it, he will never be seen again. The river Ticino passes through its waters, entering it and exiting from it. Indeed, the behavior of the servants [of Cannobio] is amazing, and it still persists. They are all, in modern times, called *aulici*, and their name and their charge remains the same. For there are those who carry wood from the groves and do not heed other work; and those who tend the hearth and perform no other task (and if by chance a spark leaps out and sets fire to the bed coverings, from his own resources he repairs the damage); there are those who scour the lamps and labor at no other task. Here Otto the Second died, and the Third was elected.

24. There were two great counts who in these times followed the footsteps of Saint Benedict, whose names have not been struck from our hearts, so that it may be known how great an esteem we have for them. One was called Roger, the other Aubert, illustrious because of their lineage, but even more so because of their divine markings.

As soon as they undertook their divine tasks, they bowed their necks to the divine command and practiced humility, which is the queen of all virtues. Every virtue lies useless, if humility does not support it. So, they tended the pigs, and collected the scattered stalks, the leftovers of the flour mill, and drove the pigs to the feed⁵². We are able to speak of things which they did even more outstanding than those deeds, but we have laid out these events modestly so that everyone may understand in a nutshell all that they did. Truly, time will run out if we try to describe those things which have come down to our notice.

25. So, in the maelstrom of that time, Abbot Gezo in Breme, grieving that the monastery of Novalese had been destroyed and now lay nearly forgotten, sent a certain monk who stayed there as rebuilders and author of whatever he could do. I followed in his train, and many know that he was a relative of mine. When he arrived, he found the houses of God full of groves, but when they were felled, they fell far from the walls. The walls of the churches were barely touched, as though the trees were sentient, and someone had told them not to harm the walls. But since the story of these monks⁵³ has been unlocked by us, a part of the praise must descend upon the monk Bruning, a man of sacred lineage. Since he was most wise and shrewd, and knowledgeable as much about divine work as about secular, the abbot's command was given to him that he should come to that place and build a chapel of Saint Andrew, which at that time was considered small. Although the chapel was tiny, he now restored it, aided by divine assistance, so that it was more outstanding than the rest. We have not said this for the honor of our family, but the

⁵² *eos* emended to *ea* yields, "...and stirred them [the stalks] for food."

⁵³ Bethmann, n. 34, "*Rogerii atque Oberti, cap. praec.*"

estimation⁵⁴ of men shows that we are not in error. Any one of us can easily discover the truth of this story, if he will look at the facts. For, thronged by nobles, at the very head of the city, the chapel provides a great sight to all. Bruning, a most excellent man, and appropriately chaste and sober, accomplished this task, and he very often had a care for the monastery of Novalese, and he provided the tools and resources so that it could be rebuilt.

26. Let the pen turn to the deed of the most famous man, Hubert, provost of Breme. The memory of this man is great before God, and among men should be treated even more purely. As ancient tradition tells, that sainted man was holy and modest, so much so that he was given the power to drive out demons. He lived for forty years during which he never rested on his right side. He never slept in his bed after cock-crow, but, entering the chapel he used to sing the chants of the priests in praise to God. God, however, wishing such a man to rest from his heavy labor – I say “heavy” because of the burden of the flesh, but very much “light” through love of the Holy Spirit, because all things are possible for believers – long before he died, the Lord spoke to him through a vision that in just a few days he would be taken up by the angels into the joy of the saints. And his body was so afflicted, that after his death his skin clung so to his bones that the flesh seemed to be entirely gone; showing clearly how great was his merit.

27. Then another followed this man, in no way unequal to him, as zealous in prayer as in reading, mindful of the apostle’s example: “The man who does not restrain his tongue,

⁵⁴ CN *conspiculatio*. Du Cange, “Conspectus, in Chronico Novaliciensi.”

his religion is empty.”⁵⁵ Those who were there say, their words even now flowing from one to the other, that on a certain night, when he went out during the office of Matins to heed human necessity, the hem of his garment was siezed by two little puppies, which tried to drag him down to the ground and disrupt his silence. But a mind set on firm rock can more easily be killed than overcome. While they were struggling thus, they came to a house in which there was the fear-inducing sign. The demons, which seemed to be little puppies, were put to flight by the conquering sign, and were returned to their punishment, saying, “Alas, alas! Overcome by a monk, while we hoped to conquer, we were defeated.”

28. At this same time, there was a man named Guido, worthy and wise, a clerk from the lineage of Count Aubert, mention of whom we have made above. From his possessions, he made gifts to Saint Peter which were nearly able to suffice for the livelihood of twelve hundred monks. After this, he greatly desired to see the place of Breme; he went to Abbot Gezo who had baptized him; in whom he was so delighted that he conferred on him two castles, Verduno and Roddi. Surely, these deeds should be esteemed by everyone.

29. It happened also in these times that a certain count named Oddo, inspired by a breath from on high increased our holdings out of his own property. This same Oddo, therefore, flying along the footsteps of the apostles, relinquished his belongings on earth so that he would be glorified in heaven. We can even interpret his name “author,” because he was

⁵⁵ James 1:26, “si quis autem putat se religiosum esse non refrenans linguam suam sed seducens cor suum huius vana est religio.”

the “author” of priests’ residences. Oh, Peter – this man bestowed on you Pollentia, a worthy place – remember his most beautiful gift, and grant heavenly gifts to him who gave earthly ones. In this place a chant of praise is sung to you; it illuminates the walls of the place, clearly and openly, to show what great worth he had. There are so many springs found there as are found in no other place. Beyond these, there is a certain spring there, once called “Impious,” where between the waves may be seen cerulean stones, like drops of blood. Many say that in this place were slain bodies of saints. Many say that there was a city here in ancient times; and, so that it might be truly believed, we offer to the public an example from Roman history. Indeed, it says, “We endeavor to say a bit about the evil deeds at Pollentia.”⁵⁶ But a certain king, named Attila, the Scourge of God, besieged it⁵⁷ for many years; at last he captured it and sent it all the way to the ground in ruins.

30. We have not spread these stories so that we might attempt to leave aside the worthy deeds of Lord Gezo, in whose times this place was acquired. We inserted these things so that their inclusion may demonstrate how firmly we remember his actions. This example demonstrates the first signs of his virtue. At a crossroads near the walls of the city, in a corner of the church of Saint Andrew, a certain man encumbered by iron on his leg and on his arms happened upon him. When the blessed Gezo saw the man, pitying him greatly, he prayed – he was of kindly spirit – weeping and offering prayers, he took the man’s hands into his own palms. Thus he struck the rings of iron from him; blood flowed

⁵⁶ Paulus Orosius, *Historiae Adversus Paganos*, VII, 37.2, “Taceo de infelicibus illis apud Pollentiam gestis.”

⁵⁷ Bethmann, n.40* “*Aquileiam, non Pollentiam.*”

everywhere, and the man's limbs were made whole in their former state. Truly his flesh had covered the iron, and the skin growing over it was rotting inside.

31. Again, an outstanding miracle of his is told. By chance it happened that once he came to a village whose name was *Supunicus*⁵⁸ to seek hospitality, for it was among the possessions of his church. Not much later, Marquess Guido came there, raging like a lion. We rightly are able to compare him to a lion; unrepentant, he was storing up wrath for himself on the Day of Wrath. When he arrived there, he heard that Lord Gezo was present; he was not afraid to have him thrown out by his servants. But this God-fearing man not only did not flee, but indeed yielded to Guido's anger and went away from that place and prepared a meal for himself in another house. For a brief interval he meditated in prayer, stretched out prostrate on the ground. There, while he was holding forth in prayer, it was revealed to him in a vision that Guido was not long to remain in this fragile life. In his dream, a certain priest standing far away was going into a grove which is near the Po, in the area of Faule; and then in his vision he saw two raging demons, and, because of their seething, branches and leaves of the trees seemed to be burning. These demons were carrying flaming swords in their hands. Looking back as they strode along, they saw the Saints Peter and Paul approaching; yielding place, they departed from the road. When the apostles arrived at the place, they asked what was the matter, that they trembled thus. The demons responded, "You do not know?" But Saint Peter, taking away their daggers, handed them sticks and said, "Go, and punish Guido with sticks, not with swords." Departing, they beat Guido as he was sitting at a banquet. He

⁵⁸ Bethmann/Combetti: Stupiniggi, two leagues to the west from the town of Turin; Alessio: Part of the community of Villanova of Asti, today called Ciocchero.

immediately lost his mind, bereft of human sensation. And the wicked man paid such a penalty that he even died without the protection of the body and blood of the Lord.

32. There was in these times a certain monk, no different from those whom we have mentioned above. He used to keep vigil at the thresholds of the holy churches in such a way that after the office of Matins he never returned to his bed. In the time of holy Lent, therefore, he was praying in his customary way before the altar of Saint Waleric; it happened, by chance, that he was overpowered by sleep. This occurred on the feast day of Saint Benedict. It happened that while he slept, he saw in a vision a certain man clothed in a white tunic fastened at the top with gold. The man carried in his hand a golden thurible full of fragrant incense. When he had arrived at the altar, he infused it with fragrance on all four sides. Holding out the thurible, he said to the monk, “Go, announce on my behalf to the brothers that they have done well. Know that I am Father Benedict, and today I have traversed all the monasteries; but in none am I followed as I am in this one.” Speaking thus, he then vanished from the monk’s sight. Let this example be clear to all the pious, and let it be ambiguous to no one, that on their festival days, and on other days, the saints visit their shrines. Indeed, Saint Gregory writes in his book of Dialogues, “One night Saint Peter came to a chapel built in his name; he addressed a certain watchman, ‘Oh, brother in faith, why have you arisen so early?’ for he was replenishing the lamps. Immediately, all his limbs slack, the man was carried to his bed.” Anyone who desires to know how this matter turned out will be able to find out easily if he reads that book⁵⁹.

⁵⁹ This episode is not found in Gregory’s *Dialogues*.

33. But let me relate what happened to Leo, bishop of Vercelli, how one time – when he wished to usurp this abbey together with the episcopacy of the church of Saint Mary at Ivrea – on a certain night, there came the most blessed and most glorious mother of God, with, as it were, dishevelled hair and her eyes dissolved in weeping, and she brought with her our most blessed patron Peter. Striding forth indeed as our Lady, she came to the bed of the afore-said bishop. When she had reached him, she said, “Do you sleep, bishop?” Trembling, he responded to her: “Who are you?” And she said: “I am Mary, mother of God and Saviour of the human race.” He said to her: “Why have you come to me, illustrious lady?” And she replied, “Take heed that you dare no further to seek to acquire my church at Ivrea and at Breme the church of Saint Peter, prince of the apostles, if you do not wish to incur immediately a most horrible death. Indeed, we have come for this purpose, that such wickedness not come about through you.” When she had spoken these things, she departed. But the bishop not only ceased to demand the previously-mentioned churches, but even confessed very often in clear speaking that this vision had appeared to him.

34. In those days, while Abbot Gezo was coming to the city of Alba, a certain bishop, Fulcard by name, conferred upon him two magnificent relics, namely those of the Saints Frontinian and Silvester. After Gezo had received the relics, and when he had come to the Tanaro River, the water divided itself into two parts, and lord Gezo crossed over along the dry land in the middle of the river. This unsentient creation did this so that it could show clearly in what esteem the saints are held before God, that their conveyor did

not dampen even the hem of his garment. This Fulcard cherished our place in a kind way because he was a monk.

35. In that same time while the festival of Saints Philip and Jacob was being celebrated, it occurred to us that on that same day the Masses in honor of Saints Acius and Acciola ought to be celebrated. It used to be unknown when or at what time the festival of these saints ought to be celebrated. And so, after their commemorations had been completed, all the lamps were extinguished in the usual manner. The custodian, thinking that he had been tricked, extinguished them again. While he was getting up from the table, behold! he found that they had all been lit again. Immediately he stood agape. It was clear that on this very day the feast of these saints should be celebrated, because through them the Lord wished such miraculous things to be done. From then on, it happened that every single year on that same day a Mass was celebrated at the altar dedicated in the name of those saints. These martyrs, indeed worthy to God, had their tomb at the previously-mentioned place.

36. At that same time it also happened that a certain man had been suffering for a long time from a wound in his nose. He had been struck by an arrow, and the shaft passed through, but the double barb of the arrow remained inside him. But the man came to the sacred relics of the blessed Waleric, on his feast day. When the man had arrived before Waleric's altar, he fell into a sleep because of the extreme pain. While this was happening, protected by the aid of the pious confessor, the arrow departed from his nose,

and thus he was freed from his pain. Rejoicing ever after, as long as he lived the name of that pious abbot was not absent from his lips.

37. The fury of Guntram is related so that the mighty may learn that the more they savagely rage, so much more will they be tortured. This ill-omened man hated our place, and he often treated shamefully both the monks and the laymen. It happened that one day he was summoned by lord Gezo to come and dine at the monastery and approve some business of a matter that needed to be concluded. Guntram, puffed up with pride, did not refuse, but came there in a wild manner. There was a certain cell in front of the doors of the church; there, after he was full, he was overcome by sleep. While he slept, there stood before his bed a priest, holding in his hands a double-bladed axe. The priest furtively struck him with it twice, and then a third time heavily on the back of his head, and thus the wretched man paid his penalty. Upon waking, he looked around and roused the slaves so that they could save him from this bringer of death. When the slaves arrived, they looked here and there, but saw no one; but Guntram himself, sick, looked and saw the priest entering the chapel through a small crack in the doors. Immediately the wretch realized the evil things that he had done, and who it was who had killed him. And, truly, on the third day he absolutely lost his life.

38. The lord Gezo himself, whom we have named above, full of days, was enjoying a prosperous old age and, on account of his extreme old age, sought for himself a helper and protector, a faithful monk named Gothfred, and he was so meek that one milder than he could not be found. This man was so meek and humble that you could say that neither

prosperity nor adversity was able to disturb him. He was so full of patience, by the grace of God, that he never seemed to be angry.

39. This event which we wish to relate happened on the feast day of the illustrious Apostle Peter, a day which is observed most zealously in all of our monasteries. By chance it happened that a certain monk, puffed up with the pride of the devil, was not afraid to extend his hand and strike this man, so worthy in every way. But Gothfred not only endured this calmly, but even turned the other side of his face, not un-mindful of the Lord's command: "He who strikes you on one cheek, offer him also the other."⁶⁰ But soon the prideful man was punished, and paid for his crime with the penalty of a tumor; immediately his arm was swollen and not able to be healed so long as the lord Gothfred himself did not celebrate a mass for him.

40. After this, there was in the territory of Pollentia a certain youth named Stabilis, of such simplicity that he could not differentiate the species of crops and herds. He zealously feared God, however, as his death later showed. For when he was dead, he was washed in the customary way and was placed on a bier. At that time Alberic, the bishop of Como, was present there. So, during the dead of night there was seen a column of fire descending from the top of heaven all the way to the bier. Seeing this, Alberic marvelled, and with his priests brought thuribles and lamps to revere the dead youth, and he himself many times kissed the young man's feet, and performed the chants of the vigils.

⁶⁰ Matthew 5:39.

41. At that time, truly, there was a thief at Novalese who violated and damaged everything that he could, and placed his loot in a certain cave and hid there, so that he would not be captured. He did these things on the third day before Christmas. He was discovered by men living in that place, and was captured. He was taken to the monastery and placed in custody. And so, at the coming of midnight the day before Christmas, when we believe that the mother of God gave birth, he unknowingly was released from his chains. He himself soon roused the guards, and reported that he had been released, but everyone marvelled and let him go with no further charge.

42. In this same place, by chance, a wolf coming from the ridge of the mountain captured a child for his prey, and carried him in his mouth to a valley called Frigida, not far from the monastery. While the boy was being taken by the wolf, he died, but was not eaten. The wolf, therefore, did a miraculous thing, about which we do not wish to be silent. For, changed from his savagery, the beast became the boy's guardian – the beast who a short time before had been his killer – and finally the one to bury him. Indeed, the wolf carried him back to the chapel of the Holy Mother of God Near the Cross, and there he buried him under a certain oak tree. But the crows which were cawing there, seeing that the boy's body was not entirely covered, were trying to eat him. But He who closed the ravenous mouth closed also the greedy beak. The boy's parents, soon roused by the screeching of the birds, recognized that he was their son, and revealed the entire affair.

43. We are eager to tell about a herdsman of that monastery, who was freed from the power of a snake. This man, while he was tending flocks of cattle on Mount Cenis, was

overcome by sleep; a certain snake hiding there, seeing the man's open mouth, entered his body. When the man felt this pain, the harbinger of death, he shouted and cried out; he had reason for shouting. Here, here, you are able to hear of the work of God. While he was writhing before the altar of Saint Peter, he was fortified by the body and blood of Christ; he was carried from the chapel, and immediately he fell asleep. But the serpent was not able to remain in the man's body, where now had entered divine protection; the creature was not strong enough to withstand his Creator. Therefore the slippery snake went out through the man's open mouth; another comrade, at the sight of the snake, killed it and revealed to everyone the marvelous things which divine power did.

44. It is known to all that the monastery of Novalese was destroyed by pagans, and finally its walls were leveled to the ground. Then in modern time, the monks living there, deploring the devastation, beseeched the bishop of Ventimiglia to consecrate the ruined chapels, that is to say, those of Saint Michael and of Holy Mary Mother of God, and of Saint Salvator and of Saint Eldrad. The previous night, one of the servants was lying in a certain house; he heard an extremely loud lamentation of demons, as though it were a throng of men, saying, "Alas, alas! Those places which we possessed until now, we are losing power there – for a long time its possessors, now bereft!" We know without doubt that they were demons. On the following day, those sacred halls were consecrated. Through the words of Saint Gregory we confirm that this happened. For he says in his book of *Dialogues*⁶¹ that a certain bishop Andreas consecrated a church in honor of all the saints, and truly many voices of demons were heard there.

⁶¹ Alessio: Possibly a reference to *Dialogues*, III, 7.

45. One day, when a shepherd of that place was taking food to some men who were then in Camerletto, he got into a row-boat and began to row along the River Dora. But the Devil, that ancient death, destroyed him by killing him; he drowned him in the water's current. He committed no less a crime the following day: he stole the memory of a certain brother through his negligence, so that he carried only water to celebrate Mass. The following night, a certain brother was going to the church of Holy Mary Mother of God, located at the foot of the mountain; a demon appeared to him in the guise of a jester, holding two curved trumpets in his hands; his garment was torn on all sides, with tattered hem. Asked who he was, the demon replied, "I am the one who a little while ago destroyed the shepherd by killing him in the water, and yesterday celebrated⁶² Mass without wine." Speaking thus, he submerged himself in the water as well, and was seen no more. It happened while the brother was returning that he met three sacred virgins, whose visage was extremely lovely, but the middle of the three was of such beauty and stature that he was not even able to bear the sight of her face. But each of them said to the monk, "Oh, monk, where are you going?" He responded, "I am returning from the church of the Holy Mother of God." One said, "You do well to traverse her sacred threshold. Behold, she prays daily for the sins of all people." Thus they spoke, and he was released from sleep.

46. Likewise it happened that in that same place which we have named above, there was a peaceful and humble monk, and a certain man appeared to him in the likeness of a

⁶² Bethmann = *celebrare*; Alessio = *celebrarem*.

shepherd carrying a staff⁶³ in his hands, saying, “Go, announce to the brothers that often they should visit these sacred halls, because there were seven Greeks of whom I was the leader, and they are buried here.” Thus he spoke, and at once vanished from his eyes.

47. It is said that one day the custodian of that church, after he had extinguished certain lamps in the usual way, and had lit one candle at the time of Vespers, when he got up in the morning to sing Matins, he did not find that candle, but another candle in the candle holder. And he began to marvel, and upon asking his servant if he had done this, the servant responded, “No.” Indeed, he wished to take it out of the holder, but he recalled what happened to a certain watchman, as is told in a book of miracles, that while he was removing a lit candle placed before the altar, it suddenly changed into a snake and bit his finger.

Book Five Ends.

The Appendix

1. Charles, by the grace of God king of the Franks and Langobards, and Patron of the Romans, to all his bishops, abbots, dukes, counts, domestics, administrators, officials, and all our emissaries abroad, both now and in the future: we believe that this greatly concerns the stability of our realm if we confirm through our authority those beneficences which our ancestors the kings granted to holy places. Because those famous earlier kings and our lord and father, Pippin of noble memory, our former king, had granted complete immunity to the monastery of Novalese in the Susa valley, a monastery which was constructed in honor of the blessed Apostles Peter and Andrew, and the rest of the saints,

⁶³ CN: *gestantem in manibus ferulam*; accusative participle *gestantam* attracted to direct object *ferulam*

the venerable man and abbot Frodoin has recommended to the clemency of our kingdom, that no public judge or judicial⁶⁴ power should engage in hearing cases or levying taxes regarding the property or possessions of this church in that place at any time; nor should they enjoy the rights of hospitality or the purveyance of foodstuffs; nor should they assign sureties for free men or slaves; nor should they collect any other monies which should have been paid to those regions⁶⁵. Whence, Frodoin in this document has shown that these immunities should be revisited by us, through which we recognize that this benefit has been valid for all time up until now; but in eagerness of strengthening it, he has petitioned our highness that we should confirm it for this abbot and for those coming after him. We do not wish to deny his petition, but know ye that we thus have affirmed and confirmed it in all matters. Knowing also that thus it was decreed by previous kings and was an indulgence of our lord and father, that they are able to possess and command these agreed-upon immunities of all the property and possessions of this church within the realms, which by God's will we rule, namely Francia, Italia, in whatsoever areas and territories, under the name of immunity, with all rights granted and with no taxation nor any impediment from public judges; they should not fear to have this so in our time as also in that of kings succeeding from henceforth, but as we have said, they may live under complete immunity without interference of judges, in the name of God. And, so that this authority may be sustained even more firmly and may be preserved for a long time to come, we have decided to confirm it below with our own hand, and we have commanded it to be signed with our seal.

⁶⁴ CN: *iudicari* for formulaic *iudicaria*.

⁶⁵ Generally following the *Formulae* of Marculf. See especially, Wendy Davies, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 57 (n.8 *Marculf's Formularum Libri Duo*)

The seal of Charles, most glorious king.

I, Wigbald, have witnessed it in place of Rado.

Issued on the 10th day before the Kalends of June
in the year undecimo and quinto.

2. In the 874th year from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ in the third indiction, in the month of June, on a Friday in the fifth hour of the night, a sign was shown in the sky. For a comet appeared in the sign of Aries gleaming like a torch, and it shone for fourteen days. Indeed, in this very year the most serene august lord Louis died in the month of August, on Friday, and Charles, King of the Franks, entered Italy with a grand throng, and held the kingdom for two years. But in the second year after he entered Italy, in the month of March a comet likewise appeared in the west, in the sign of Libra, and it shone for fifteen days. But it was not as bright as the one which appeared earlier. In that same year Emperor Charles died, and Carloman, King of the Bavarians, entered Italy with an infinite multitude of people, and obtained the realm. But in the next year appeared another marvelous sign in the sky, on January 4th; although the sky was clear, and already dawn was spreading, a great light appeared, as it seemed to us, for twelve moments. And after a single interval, a mighty thunderclap was heard in the sky, so that all those who heard and saw such an immense brightness were terrified and trembling.

3. To the most glorious lord John, duly named to the height of apostolic dignity, ineffably famous for the remarkable brilliance of his ancestry, and sagaciously ordained

for the unmeasured teaching of his sparkling and eternal wisdom, venerable Pope and worthy Patron of the entire church of the Christian religion and of the true faith, and the author of true belief, whom the Lord deemed worthy to raise to the most sacred seat of Peter and Paul, princes of the Apostles, and to whom He has rightly entrusted the sheep of his sacred flock; Belegrim, humble abbot, along with the rest of the brethren leading the monastic life in the monastery of most blessed Peter – near the Alps of the city of Susa, which is in the borders of Italy, in the place which is known as Novalese, and was constructed in an earlier time by a certain nobleman named Abbo, namely in the time of Theodoric the King, and then strengthened by sacred letter of law and privilege by Emperor Charles and all the princes of the Romans, that is, the noble consuls and senators, nay, indeed by the entire world of the Roman church;, and dedicated to the most blessed Peter, the heavenly gatekeeper; furthermore (unspeakable!) entirely destroyed by the dire race of Saracens falling upon it, but then once again successfully restored with willing grace of the celestial founder, by a certain marquess named Adelbert, who was said to be the father of King Berengar, in the town which is called Breme – [Belegrim] sends the unfailing bond of eternal service and assiduous veneration, and the unending series of ineffable prayers. Oh, most clement shepherd and guide of all Europe, the true doctrine of ecclesiastical wisdom, we make known to your sanctity and your clemency and your innate nobility the fact that the aforementioned marquess Adelbert who rebuilt the monastery in the above-mentioned town has called together there all the monks of the ancient monastery who had been scattered by the attacking Saracens into diverse provinces to other monasteries, leaving behind there no small part of their wealth. But now, that which this man and others like him have granted to that sacred place through

their goodness, another man, insane and possessed by immense madness has stolen entirely – that is to say of course, the Marquess Arduin, a ravening wolf, hiding in the guise of a white sheep, and a huge destroyer of Christ’s church; he had very nearly destroyed the aforementioned monastery – except for the fact that – our last hope – the mercy of God and His clemency and highest piety looked down upon us His servants. For, as we have learned from the ancient and venerable fathers of this place, this monastery was always subject to the defense of the Roman pope. Because this same builder and author left it under the sway of the eternal King, and under the governance of the illustrious pope of the basilica that is the most outstanding of all basilicas, inextricably begging him and beseeching him as a suppliant that, for the love of the most high and indivisible Trinity, if by chance any misfortune should befall the abbot of this place with its monks, that any pope should protect them on all sides and save them, just as a responsible and keen shepherd most skilfully defends and guards his flock from being torn apart by savage beasts,; he should give succor to them and come to their aid, and free them from the persecution of depraved men. Therefore, most holy priest, we rightly seek the kindness of your clemency, and we humbly call upon that rightful nobility of your benevolent image⁶⁶, that, in regard for the highest veneration of the Father Almighty, who, grieving that the human race is damned and subject to death for the sin and corruption of the first man, gave his only-begotten son to death, whereby He could bring back His servants to their former state of immortality and eternal blessedness, you deign to see to us and, favoring us, come to our aid in all our need; because either salvation will come to us through you after the coming of the Creator of the universe, or we will lose this place altogether. Indeed, such is the savagery of this previously noted

⁶⁶*idalmais* Bethmann = “*facies benigna*”.

marquess, that not one of us is able to live in that place; because all the farms and villages and all the towns from which our food and clothing used to come, and all the better land of the monastery with the households belonging to it, he has stolen from us, your servants. And had there not been a certain man, famous in virtue and illustrious in the lineage of his ancient family, Samson by name, who near the end of his felicitous life took up the habit of sacred religion in the aforementioned monastery, granting to this place no small portion of his possessions, we would barely have had the wherewithal to live for two months. Then, although it is unspeakable to tell, this dire marquess, greedy to reduce the entire monastery into his servitude and into the heredity of his sons, says that he has a charter concerning it. This is frivolous and false. For we know that Prince Lothar, son of King Hugo, deceived by the blandishments and wiles of the savage duke, and ensnared by his great madness, without the knowledge of the Italian princes, and with all of us in ignorance – Oh, woe! – secretly confirmed that charter, through which every evil has befallen us and our sacred place. After this was done, divinely struck down by a mighty illness, in that same week Lothar met his death. Otto, most pious emperor and most clement ruler of many provinces, upon coming to Italy had this charter burned in the fire, because of the intervention of the lady Adelaide, his most glorious and august wife, and the widow of the already mentioned Lothar, and in the sight of all his princes, that is to say, marquesses, bishops, counts, and abbots. Then he ordered us to re-write another, which he confirmed with his own hand. In addition he threatened the wicked duke not to engage himself further concerning the possessions, farms, villages, towns and servants, nor any other properties belonging to this monastery. What more to say? Upon the benevolent emperor's return to his native province, immediately the above-mentioned

marquess began to afflict the abbot and all his monks seven times with his dire ways, stealing all the properties which the kind emperor had ordered returned to the monastery, and many things further which he had not stolen before, raging because we had dared to speak before the holy empire about the evils which he was bringing upon us. Finally, returning to us some portion, but a tiny one, from the wealth of the monastery, he compelled the abbot to swear a most unworthy pledge, that later the abbot could not accuse him about such a deed in any audience of the emperor. We believe that the All-powerful Three and One grieves at this wickedness, and so does the heavenly key-bearer with all the saints. Nay, but rather do we desire this to be divulged in the presence of your majesty, because either this holy place will remain stable and strong through your benevolence, or it certainly will be destroyed by this Arduin and abandoned by us – which may the Creator of the universe forbid! Therefore, with constant pleas, we never cease to pour out prayers that you will send your most holy letters to the most blessed emperor, which will inform him officially how this matter came about between the above-noted marquess and our patron. For we are so reduced to nothing that not one of us dares either to speak a word openly there or to go to the court, from fear of our evil enemy. Furthermore, we beseech you to entreat the emperor in this way: that if he desires to have the grace of God and the eternal power of the Heavenly King, if he is eager to be in company with the angels, he will return to the abbot and the monks all the land belonging to that monastery with its households and property attendant upon it, and he will say to the savage count, that he will not consider him in perpetual friendship or a lord, if he interferes further concerning this monastery's wealth. Then, we your suppliants beg the benign munificence of your authority, that on your part and through

your legates you issue such anathema against this count that if he holds any longer the wealth of this place against the will of its monks, he will remain damned and accursed in the eternal fire of Hell. All that remains is for us to manifest and declare to your highest majesty, oh most powerful ruler of universal sanctity and joy, what we ever await: that the Lord, Maker of the world, grant such a patron to the apostolic church to rule the church according to the wisdom of the ancient fathers, through whom divine salvation and healing might come to us in our need. This we believe will be granted whenever this splendid report comes to our ears, announcing to us your servants that, neither swayed by reward nor terrified by fear will you ever retreat from the truth of judgement which is the most holy of all things. Nor do we wish to conceal from you, holy father, that a certain old man, bearing from infancy the habit of holy service in this monastery, while he was entering the church to pray one night in his customary way, was suddenly overcome by an unaccustomed sleep. He, as he himself relates, saw in a vision a certain man clothed in shining garments, bearing in his left hand a golden dagger, but in his right a silver cross; striking the old man's head with it three times, he woke him from sleep, commanding him to tell the rest of the brethren that they should implore aid from the Roman patron. May Christ, the Lamb of God who for our sins was placed on the cross, keep you through many courses of the ages. Amen.

4....

5. After the death of the abbot lord Gottfried (who is reported to have been filled with the fear and love of God since his dominion remained peaceful in those times), for the

Lord called him from this uncertain light, our abbey was conferred by Emperor Conrad in Rome on a certain young man from Cluny, Odilo, nephew of another Odilo, the abbot. When this young man, still inexperienced, departing from his monastic training, saw that he was being lifted up to such an honor, he began to gather to him a throng of soldiers, and gave to these vassals as a gift many farms on the lands from which came the monks' livelihood; he then rose up insolently against the monks, and especially the elders, and constantly harassed them. What more is there to say? While he did everything childishly, and was overly-preoccupied with pleasures, valuing the court of his own lord emperor very little, thinking that no one would be able to resist him, he then and there gave the aforesaid abbacy as a beneficence to a certain Alberic, bishop of Como. For a certain wise man, not yet a prelate, wrote: "Surely when Henry dies / and another Caesar arises / then the people of Breme / are deprived of their rightful lord." And likewise: "But the bishop of Como, / entirely subservient to Conrad, / blazed with such gold / that his promise prevailed." And again: "The cowed army / shudder at this evil; / these are the sons of the dove, / and the disciples of the serpent. / For I have gone round about the kindom, / and I have frequented many cloisters; / but never have I seen any / so carefully cunning / as the monks of Breme / – unbridled and of hostile deceit, / disdaining to take up the yoke / which is given by the gift of the king."

6. And so the monastery was handed over, as we related above; for this reason the abbot along with the monks grieved sorely. But the bishop, acting cleverly enough, immediately invaded the monastery and compelled its servants to swear fealty to himself. As to those who did not agree, they departed from their land of their own volition,

leaving their homes behind. But the more prudent monks did not wish to present themselves to his sight at all; for they had hidden all the treasure, carrying it away with them. Therefore, the bishop, coming to Turin, with clever cunning, and after many riches had been exchanged, arranged with the marquess Maginfred and his brother, the bishop Adalric, that he would capture the abbot. Which he did. He was not quite able to do what he hoped – for he feared the citizens of the city – but he sent a citrus fruit to him, and enjoined him to come to him; and thus he betrayed him. The next morning, however, all the citizens gathering as one wished to rescue the abbot by force; but the aforementioned marquess and his band of soldiers prevailed, preventing the citizens from committing any offense. But the bishop, taking the abbot into custody, soon put him in jail. And not long after, swearing faith to him concerning the monastery, he let him go.

7. At the time of the cutting of the harvest, this same bishop of Como came to Breme, and he attacked two monks so that he could send them to prison, monks who were held in great esteem by God and the world. On the following night, while he was contemplating this unspeakable act, Saint Peter stood before his bed and said, “Alberic, how can you live, you who have brought such evils to my place and my monks?” Acting in this way, he also struck him in his groin. Immediately perceiving his doom, Alberic set out as soon as light returned to the land. Nevertheless, he hoped to die and be buried there. But seized by great fear, his people asked that this not happen; indeed, if this were to come about, they would be taken alive by the rulers of that land. So he departed, carried half-dead on horses; he died at last, before he could reach the city of Como. When he was stripped of his clothing, his breeches were found to be stained by excrement. Those who

saw this have offered testimony, and there are still those living who confess that they saw it. For he himself very often used to swear that he was struck by a certain cleric, with white beard and hair, who had appeared to him at this same cloister, whom we understand absolutely to have been the Saint [Peter]. No doubt he was deserving of such a death, he who afflicted the servants of God and the holy place with so many calamities.

8. After his death, a certain German named Litikerius held the office of bishop. He conferred the abbacy on the lord Eldrad, after Odilo had been rejected. This Eldrad was a good man, full of days, growing into the goodness of old age. He governed his abbey for ten years with all just moderation and seemly peace. After the completion of his years he died, and was buried peacefully. A certain miracle occurred during the time of this abbot, about which I do not wish to remain silent. During Holy Week, while vespers were being sung, there came a certain man who was deaf, mute, and lame, and filled with demons. This man, upon entering the temple, began shouting, saying nothing, just sending his great voice to the stars. After one hour passed, he ran with eager steps to the altar of Saint Peter, and embraced it; immediately he stood erect and his tongue's impediment was loosened; and spewing forth filthy blood, he was set free from all his infirmities through the intercession of Saint Peter. Indeed, we saw this with our own eyes, and we are witness to this entire event.

9. Therefore we make known to all the faithful of the holy church of God – that is to those present and absent – the evil which the monastery of Breme suffered at the hand of the one who just recently seemed to be its abbot, Oddo by name. For after this man was

struck down in a battle, he came to the monastery of Breme more because of fear than of veneration of God, and there he vowed to God and Saint Peter, and to the abbot Gezo, to become a monk. Meanwhile, as the passage of years went by, the abbot of this place was wretched on account of his old age; with the consent of all the brethren, and also with the knowledge of the lord emperor Henry, he gave the abbacy to another man. A certain brother of the monastery begged the abbot to give to this above-mentioned monk Oddo an obedience that was under his supervision of Pollenzo. The abbot acquiesced to his pleas. For at that time there was a great legal battle between Ardoin and Maginfred. Knowing this, the aforementioned monk, namely Oddo, went to Ardoin and asked him, by giving and promising money, to make him abbot of the monastery where he had a priory. The marquess said, however, that he could not do so because his father had given it to the monastery of Breme. Then the monk in his madness said, "If you give the abbacy to me and see that I keep it in opposition to my abbot, I will return your father's charters to you." Then Ardoin said that he would do it. So immediately this teacher of Judas stole the papers and returned them to Ardoin. Without delay, the marquess took Oddo with him to Rome, offered a great amount of money to the Pope, and he gave the consecration to him. Hearing this, the abbot of Breme took it gravely; he went to the pope and related everything in sequence: how he had acted against God and his order. Then the pope, realizing the truth and issuing an anathema, ordered that Oddo not become abbot, and that he return to the command of his patron. And he gave permission that whoever wished to help him would have, from his disposition, free power and blessing to do so. Without delay, the abbot went to Maginfred and sought mercy for his mistake, so that through the pope's decree he might capture Oddo by some plan, if he

could. Meanwhile, Maginfred prepared himself for capturing this monster; he attempted it and accomplished it. Furthermore, Oddo swore agreement to all the terms saying: “I, the monk Oddo, in all the days of my life will no longer seek the abbacy of Breme, nor will I hold an abbacy or a priory without permission of my lord the abbot Gottfried.” Freed cleverly in this way, unmindful of his oath and of every promise, he returned to his former wickedness. And so he carried on, until the lord emperor Henry came to the kingdom. When Henry realized all of Oddo’s crimes, in the sight of all the bishops who were present, he captured the detestable renegade⁶⁷ monk, broke his staff, and deposed the haughty man from his position. Furthermore, he commanded firmly that Oddo never depart from his cloister. He wasn’t long with the monks before sowing discord among them. The abbot saw this; he preferred that Oddo depart rather than that he plunge the entire congregation into peril. He gave him one priory, so that this perhaps would be enough and he would be quiet. When Oddo received it, he did not rest, but whatever he found in the church – the books, chalices, and crosses and treasure; the wine and bread cannot be counted – he sold it all, made a great deal of money and gave it to Alric, bishop of Asti, for an abbacy. There the matter remained. Oddo was quiet while these abbots were alive: Gezo, Gottfried, Odilo, and Eldrad. When the last had died, Oddo went to the abbot Litkerius of Como; he gave, he promised, he pledged on oath to the bishop and to the clerics, the faithful and their servants five hundred pounds divided among everyone for the abbacy of Breme. When he received the abbacy, to get the money which he had promised, he took and sold crosses, chalices, crowns, texts of the Gospels, altar tables, thuribles, whatever treasure he found. The tongue is not able to tell of the bread, wine,

⁶⁷ “*sarabaitae*” Rule of Benedict, I,12, “The third kind of monks, a most foul type, is that of the Sarabaites.”

and meat. Furthermore, he compelled the monks to swear fealty to him, as the laity do. He captured and put into jail one of the elders because he had complained to the lord emperor's messengers. The monk was not able to leave until he gave one of his servants to Oddo and made the servant swear fidelity to Oddo instead of to the monk. If anyone wishes to verify whatever is written here – I have discovered it in truth, and more than in truth. Nothing is amiss that you read here.

10. Meanwhile, Oddo enjoyed the fruits of his abbacy, feasting with his friends and stealing from whomever he was able. For, he had no concern whatever in his acquisition of the diverse wealth of the world, and he prohibited our people from acquiring anything in any way: he filled the whole world with his men. Indeed, he was full of treachery and fraud; he defamed in every way the monks who were subject to him, even to the laity, especially to the marquesses, exalting himself as though he were righteous, and even though his own crimes were truly the worst he used to slander [the monks] among the laity, as though he were a step-son. And so it happened that he himself much later slipped into worse and filthier deeds, while he was stripping bare his sons as though they were criminals, imitating Cham⁶⁸, who did not cover the modesty of his father, but rather exposed him to be laughed at. But when God contemplated his faithlessness, he blinded him as he deserved so that Oddo would secretly hand over the abbacy to someone else. And so he did this, with perjured and unlawful sacraments, with neither the will nor the consent of the brethren, desiring to receive an immense amount of money thereby. Therefore we believe it was done by divine judgement, that he finally was devoid of any honor, and the abbacy was given to another much better than him.

⁶⁸ Genesis 9:22.

11. Meanwhile I would like to recount briefly what happened once concerning the most impious tyrant Maximian. While he, after laying his traps, was plotting the death of his son-in-law Constantine, when his plot was discovered, he was captured at Marseille, and not much later he was strangled. Afflicted with most foul punishment, he ended a wicked life with an appropriate death. So, around these times, near Marseille, was found the tomb of this same Maximian, the terrible persecutor of Christians. For, as those who were there told us, his corpse miraculously was completely perfused inside and out with oil of balsam and some other types of fragrances.

Also, his body was entirely intact, with black hair, pale flesh, and a huge beard. Near his head was a cup of pure gold⁶⁹ full of balsam. But he himself rested in a leaden coffin⁷⁰ in a sarcophagus of most gleaming marble, with golden letters written above it. Indeed, through the plan of Raibald, archbishop of Arles, and the rest of the faithful, it came about that his corpse was thrown into the great ocean with the entire tomb. Indeed, in that place, the waters of the sea seemed to burn day and night, where his body was thrown.

12. At this time, Leodegar, archbishop of Vienne attempted to gather in writing the biographies and customs, lineage and deeds of his predecessors as archbishop.

13. At this time King Lambert was ruling in Italy; and in his time there was a count, Maginfred, whom he killed, and there was also Ammulus, bishop of Turin, who

⁶⁹ CN: *auro aurizo*; DuCange, Souter: *aurizum* = *obryzum/obrizum*.

⁷⁰ Cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL*, II,10.

destroyed the walls of that same city, with its towers, through his own perversity. For he acted with hostility toward his own citizens, who immediately drove him out of the city. And for three years the city was without a bishop's throne. He returned later, after peace was made, and destroyed all the walls with a large force, as we said. In fact, this city had been well fortified with sturdy towers and there were arched walkways throughout the city, with fortifications above and bulwarks. Indeed this same bishop [Ammulus], through treachery with the son of Count Maginfred, killed the aforesaid king while he was out hunting in the forest, and, overcome by sleep, was dozing in the lap of a young man. One day, a short time later, the devil appeared to the bishop⁷¹ in the guise of a little fox, while he was out riding; whereupon he chased the fox so persistently, so popular story says, that he was never seen again.

14. Also in these days, the most serene Emperor Guido held the kingdom of the Langobards for a few years. Around these times King Rodulf reigned in Italy.

15. And so, with the bodily death of Emperor Otto, immediately his like-named son Otto II succeeded him in the kingdom. But when he departed from this world, Otto III was chosen to rule, taking in marriage a certain Greek woman, the daughter of the emperor in Constantinople. Their groomsman was Archbishop Arnulf of Milan. One time when Otto was waging war with the Greeks, and was captured in battle and being held by them at sea, they suspected that he was the king. As much as possible, he, along with his men, denied this suspicion that he was the king, and swore that he was only his most faithful counsellor. However, while they were arguing and accusing him of these and other

⁷¹ Bethmann = "*episcopo*?"

things, they informed him that unless he paid them an amount of gold and silver as equaled the weight of his body, they would not release him. Immediately a report was sent to the queen, who at that time was nearby, and the entire matter was described to her. She very quickly sent many young men dressed in feminine clothing, with daggers and swords concealed under their tunics, so they would seem to be a group of girls carrying twelve chests filled with gold. Of these, three were full of gold and silver, but all the others were full of stones and were locked securely with keys. And when they arrived at the shore, the three chests were opened in which there was the gold. Displaying these, they began to negotiate. Then one of the king's soldiers spoke harshly to him, reminding him of the victories of previous wars. Suddenly, with great force, he shook himself from their hands so that their hands were left full of the cloak with which he had been clothed, and he hurled himself from the skiff in which he was being held into the water. As he was swimming most desperately through the water, two of their strongest men pursued him incessantly. But one of them who was catching up more quickly, when he tried to grab the king with his hands, the king with his hand thrust forward, drowned him immediately and, doing likewise to the other one, the king escaped.

16. Around this time Emperor Henry received the realm of Italy, after Arduin had been cast out, against whom his soldiers had previously fought and been conquered, and whom he had besieged in the camp of Fruttuaria for a whole year. Henry was not able to capture him; but a short time after, Arduin became a monk. But when he was deprived of his kingdom, Henry soon seized it and held it for twenty years. Henry had great wisdom, and was most seriously imbued with an understanding of literature. He greatly improved,

by instructing them, marquesses and bishops, dukes and counts, and also abbots, whose ways were depraved; capturing marquesses of the Italian realm through his own cleverness, and placing them in custody. Some of these escaped by fleeing, but others he dismissed enriched with gifts after correcting them. While he lived, he, along with his revered wife, mightily loved and protected our abbey.

17. When Henry died, Conrad, unknowing and ignorant in everything concerning literature, siezed the kingdom of the Langobards. He subjugated some churches, bishoprics, and abbeys too. Among these, ours was deprived of its rightful lord, as we related above; it was handed over to the control of the bishop of Como by the aforementioned Conrad. His son Benjamin, who is called by another name, Emperor Henry, well-imbued with experience in literature, removed it from this profane dominion, by which it was oppressed, and established it in its proper, royal, status. He prohibited (with curses on the earlier document) what had been done to our disadvantage, so that no king or emperor could from then on hand it over to any subjugation.

CHAPTER 2: LATIN TEXT

CHRONICON NOVALICIENSE⁷²

LIBRI PRIMI FRAGMENTA

[1. 1 Abbo . . . Temporibus, quibus servabatur adhuc mos antiquus Romanorum, quo quisque solvebat census Romae, pro unoquoque capite dabat nummum; et cum ex longinquis regionibus convenirent, nonnulli in fluminibus peribant, alii a latronibus interficiebantur vel depraedabantur, alii ex lassitudine ipsa itineris moriebantur. 2 Et cum Abbo resideret in civitate Secusina in terra dicta Viennensis, in ipsa valle apud Novalesium monasterium fundavit in honorem beati Petri pro anima suorum parentum, et pro amissione sui filii; et voluit quod census qui deinceps e Gallia Romam portabatur, ibi portaretur . . . 3 Et testamentum fecit, quod Valchino archiepiscopo Ebredunensi, cuius nepos ipse fuerat, conscribi fecit et per Cudebertum clericum scribi.]

[2. 1 Et cum Theodoricus, non rex Francorum, qui filius reginae Brunehildis, quae beatum a Luxovio expulit Columbanum, sed ille rex Gothorum, qui occidit duos

⁷² As mentioned in the Introduction, I have taken my text from Bethmann's edition, and have collated it against the manuscript (digital scan). The apparatus includes all ms. text variants, using the following *sigla*: *B* = Bethmann when in disagreement with the ms.; *T* = original scribes of the section of the *Chronicle* in question; *T^f* = original scribes correcting themselves; *T²* = corrector other than the original scribe of the section; *T³* = corrector (other than the original scribe) correcting himself; *T[?]* = an erasure whose agency is not determined; *J* = Jerome (*ad Eustochium*); *C* = Cipolla.

senatores preclaros et exconsules, Simachum et Boetium; qui quinquagesimo octavo die postquam papa Iohannes defunctus est subito mortuus est . . . et Romae impeditus intrare Constantinopolim venit, et a Zenone imperatore honorifice susceptus, et ei statuum auream equestrem fecit, et eum regem Italiae constituit; et venit et pugnavit apud Veronam contra Odoacrem, et Ravennae eum occidit, et rex factus. 2. Et quinto anno regni sui Abbo construxit monasterium Novalici . . . Godonem abbatem constituit . . .]

[7. 1 Narrat sanctimoniam quandam e Gallia Romam profectam, post multas orationes et ieiunia in templo sanctorum Petri et Pauli factas impetrasse divinitus, ut unum ex dignis beati Petri apostoli ossibus, ignorantibus cardinalibus, id est custodibus, cum multo timore acciperet, ac sibi sub maxilla, nescio qualiter, absconderet, deprecans obnix Dominum, ut illi daretur copia ferendi tanti patroni membrum.]

[8. 1 Inde vero digrediens, cum vallem Segusinam invenisset, ubi hodie Novaelucis dicitur, nocte sibi superimminente quievit, et ob nimiam lassitudinem aliquantis diebus morata, sub quodam tuguriolo tacita residebat sola.]

[9. 1 Cum autem senior quidam de partibus Galliarum Romam contenderet cum multa servorum turba, amisso itinere in his partibus, iussit unum ex iis in altam arborem ascendere, ut exploraret vicina loca. 2 Qui viso fumo, eo perrexit et moniam illam in tugurio invenit. 3 Ad quam cum dominum suum adduxisset, illaque venerandas reliquias exhibuisset, dicenti seniore, non satis sibi de illarum veritate constare, iussit illa duos scyphos afferri, alterum mero plenum alterum aqua, et hunc quidem contactu reliquiarum subito in vinum convertit 4 Tradunt autem quidam, quod ipse senior fuerit dominus Abbo Romanorum patricius, qui fuit Novalitiae fundator.]

[10. 1 Destructum deinde coenobium, primo a ducibus Langobardum Amone, Zaban et Rodano; secundo quando quendam monachum religiosissimum nomine Arnulphum interfecerunt; tercio quando monachi ipsius loci ad Taurinensem urbem inhabitandam venerunt. 2 Ingressi igitur Longobardi Italiam, Romam ceperunt et montem Cassinum ad solum usque deleverunt. 3 Facta est autem hec destructio sub abbate Bonicio, qui fuit quintus a beato Benedicto. 4 Mansit autem locus ille lucis absque alicuius hominis habitudine centum et decem annos.]

[11. 1 Igitur septem annis postquam Longobardi Romam vi acceperant, egressi tres duces supradicti in Galliam ad predandum, Amo quidem et Zabam per montem Geminum ascenderunt, Rodanus vero alteram viam carpens, per montem Cinisium ad Gratianopolim cum suis ascendit. 2 Qui cum ad Novalitiense venisset coenobium, multos ex illis monachis, qui pro Domino mori non recusaverunt, quorum milites sanctiores erant, interfecit; alii vero per fenestras et ostialia per devia montium et rupium fuga evaserunt. 3 Tunc autem direptum et incensum monasterium; duo soli vero pueri sub pallio altaris latentes divinitus salvati sunt . . .]

[12. 1 In dicto quoque monasterio fuit olim quidam abbas] nomine Elderadus sa[n]ctitate fulgens, et sapientia] plenus, miraculis clarus. 2 His multum thesaurum in ipso fabricavit vel adunavit loco, quemadmodum odie cernitur in ipsis vasis aureis vel argenteis vel libris ab ipso compositis. 3 Eodem autem tempore venerunt quidam monachi in ipsam abbatiam ad abbatem Eldaeradum, virum per omnia sanctissimum, qui habitabant in vallem Brianconensem, ubi odie dicitur Monasterium. 4 Habentur namque in dicto vico balnea calida, muro et calce olim composita, et quatuor ecclesie ab eisdem monachis edificatae, una in honore sanctae Dei genetricis, alia namque in honore beati Petri, tercia

vero in honore sancti Andreae, et quarta in honore beati Martini gloriosi confessoris. 5 Vallis ipsa venacionibus et piscacionibus apta, sed a serpentibus oppido infesta. 6 Hii vero monachi, ut supra dixi, cum venissent ad abbatem Elderadum, insinuaverunt illi omnem molestiam illarum serpentium dicentes, 7 “Domine,” inquiunt, “nequimus ultra manere in eundem locum, ubi actenus habitavimus, propter multitudinem serpentium inibi manentium.” 8 Qui ait illis, “nolite timere, sed revertimini et terram illam more solito operamini. 9 Ego enim otius subsequar vos.” 10 Illis autem regredientibus, secutus est eos abbas ille venerabilis cum aliquantis fratribus. 11 Ubi cum pervenisset ad predictum vicum, oratione facta in circuitu ipsius vici, cum ferula quam manu gestabat cepit ire, ac multitudinem serpentium congregans, adunavit eas in loco quodam modicum cavato, ibique precipiens eis in nomine Domini cunctis diebus manere, dicens, 12 “Etiam si contigerit vobis usquam progredi, precipio vobis in nomine Domini, nemini hominum noceatis.” 13 Quae usque in odiernum obediunt cuncte abbatem illum diem; sed cum a magno estu contigit eas calefieri, videntur aliquantulum peragrarare per vicum et per domos intrare et ad ignem usque progredi, aliquando inter duos iacentes in lectum inveniri, aliquando vero in cunabulo⁷³ cum puero os ad ore⁷⁴ cubare absque ullo nocumento. 14 Est autem locus ille ubi predictae manent serpentes modicus; quae manent in petrarum foraminibus, et est locus ipse situs iuxta Aguzane fluvium.

EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMUS

⁷³ cuna *T* cunabulo *T*²

⁷⁴ os ad ore *T* ore ad os *T*²

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI II

1. Quod abbates ipsius coenobii olim remoti steterint ad aecclesiam Domini Salvatoris cum vetulis senioribus.
2. Quod ab antiquis temporibus prohibitum sit ibi accessum feminarum. |
3. Quare tunc illis prohibitum sit.
4. Ubi post multos annos mulier magni Karoli ob temeritatem morti⁷⁵ occubuit.
5. De monte Romuleo, a quo hoc nomen accepit.
6. De episcopis Maurigenatis aecclesiae.
7. De quodam ortulano monacho ipsius monasterii nomine Walthario⁷⁶.
8. Unde idem ipse fuerit vel uxor eius Hiltgund.
9. Qualiter ad monasterium venerit Novaliciense.
10. Quod rex Atila, qui vocatur Flagellum Dei, ipsum quondam Waltharium abuerit obsidem.
11. De plaustra⁷⁷ ipsius monasterii, quae⁷⁸ a quibusdam viris capta sint.
12. De predicto Walthario, quem abbas ad iamdictos miserat predatores.
13. De monte Cynisio, quem domnus Abbo patricius cum archiepiscopo commutavit Lugdunensi.
14. De multis sanctorum visionibus in eodem loco apparentibus.
15. De obitu Waltharii, ac de sepultura eius.
16. De revelatione ipsius sepulturae.

⁷⁵ morti *T* morte *T*²

⁷⁶ uualthario *T* uualtharius *T*²

⁷⁷ plaustra *T* plaustis *T*²

⁷⁸ quod *T* quae *T*²

17. De quadam cella ipsius Novaliciensi subiecta, ubi dicitur⁷⁹ Plebe martyrum.
18. De quodam sene monachum nomine Geraldum.
19. De archa marmoreo in Sigusina civitate ab Abbone patricio conscripto atque elevato.
20. De monasteria⁸⁰ quae erant per diversas provincias sub ditione Novaliciensi, qualiter postea ipsa Nova Lux ea amiserit. |

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI SECUNDI

INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS.

1. 1 Antiquis vero temporibus, quibus ipsa Nova Lux totius abbatae suae dominationem strenuissime regebat, mos erat illorum abbatum, ob iura sanctitatis custodienda remoti vel separati manere cum aliquantis senis⁸¹ senioribus ad aecclesiam Domini Salvatoris. 2 Aliorum autem caterva senum, quorum multitudo in unum habitare non quibat, in⁸² diversis cellulis in circuitu manebant ecclesiarum, de quibus tuguriolis, nisi cum nimia infirmitas obstitisset, oportunis horis ad capitulum et ad mensam pariter occurrebant. 3 Turba vero iuvenum fratrum regularium omnis summa cum custodia infra claustra inclusi retinebantur monasterii. 4 Erat autem vallis ipsa valde decora, hominibus copiosa, et perlustrata aecclesiis, capellis Deo in orationibus, ubi tantus monachorum orabat exercitus; in qua nonnullae erant aecclesiae, in quibus divisi predicti manebant monachi seni vel duodeni, qui omnes cibo et vestimento a seniore

⁷⁹ dicebatur *T* dicitur *T*² De duobus hominibus *add. T*¹ *supra* ubi dicitur

⁸⁰ monasteria *T* monasteriis *T*²

⁸¹ senis *T* senibus *T*²

⁸² per *T* in *T*²

accipiebant monasterio. 5 Coenobitae ergo ipsi, ut diximus, hi⁸³ sunt, qui plures⁸⁴ in commune habitant, ut beatus Hieronimus ad virginem Eustochium inter alia dicit. 6 Prima apud eos erat confederacio obedire maioribus, et quicquid dixissent facere. 7 Divisi erant per decurias aut per centurias, ita ut novem hominibus unus decimus preesset, et rursum decem prepositi super se centesimum haberent. 8 Manebant ergo senes predicti separati in seiunctis cellulis usque ad horam plenam tertiam, sicut institutum illis erat; ibique psalmis, ymnis, orationibus unusquisque vacabat. 9 Nemo pergebat ad alium, exceptis his quos decanos diximus, ut si cogitationibus quis fluctuaret, illius consolaretur alloquiis. 10 Post horam tertiam in commune concurrebant, psalmi resonabant, scripture ex more recitabantur; et completis orationibus cunctisque residentibus, medius quem patrem vocabant, incipiebat disputare. 11 Quo loquente tantum silentium inerat, ut nemo ad alium respicere auderet. 12 Nemo audebat excreare; dicentis laus in fletu⁸⁵ erant; audientium tacite volvuntur⁸⁶ per facies et ora lacrimae discurrebant, et ne in singultu quidem erumpebat dolor. 13 Cum vero de regno Christi, de futura beatitudine, de gloria inenarrabili coepisset annuntiare ventura, videres cunctos moderato suspirio et oculos⁸⁷ ad caelum levare et intra se dicere: 14 “Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbe, et volabo et requiescam?” 15 Posthaec consilium solvebatur, et cum tempus fuisset reficiendi, unaquaeque decuria cum suo parente pergebat ad mensam. 16 Quibus per singulas

⁸³ ii T hii T²

⁸⁴ autem Thebanitae *add. ante* plures T²

⁸⁵ fletu] etu *in ras.* T²

⁸⁶ tacite uoluntur T mentes tacite uoluebantur T²

⁸⁷ oculis T oculos T²

ebdomadas vicissim ministrabant. 17 Nullus in cibo strepitus aut sonitus; nemo commedens loquebatur. 18 Alebantur autem secundum regulam; dehinc consurgebant pariter, et hymno dicto ad presepia senes redibant, iuvenes namque sub disciplina manebant. 19 Ibi usque ad vesperam cum suis unusquisque sensibus loquebatur et dicebat: 20 “Vidisti illum et illum, quanta sit in ipsis gratia, quantum silentium, quam moderatus incessus?” 21 Si infirmum vidissent, consolabantur; si in Dei amore ferventem, cohortabantur ad studium. 22 Et quia nocte extra orationem publicam in suo cubiculo unusquisque vigilabat, circumeuntes cellulas singulorum et aures appositas, quid facerent diligenter explorabant. 23 Quem tardiores deprehendissent, non increpabant; sed dissimulando⁸⁸ quod nossent⁸⁹, eum sepius visitabant, et prius incipientes, provocabant magis orare quam cogere. 24 Si vero quis egrotare coepisset, transferebatur ad exedram latiore, et tanto senum ministerio confovebatur, ut nec delicias urbium nec matris quaerere opus esset affectum. 25 Dominicis diebus orationibus tantum et lectionibus vacabant; quod quidem omni tempore completis opusculis faciebant. 26 Cotidie de scripturis aliquid discebatur. 27 Nullus siquidem mortalium bona quae in ipso monasterio gerebantur⁹⁰, enarrare prevalet. 28 In illo etenim hospitalitate vigeat, castitas redolebat, caritas relucebat, elemosinarum largitio, oratio assidua Deo exhibebatur, tam pro vivis quam etiam pro defunctis.

2. 1 Neque hoc silencio pretereundum puto, quod sanctissimi ipsius venerabilis coenobii abbates quondam suis temporibus statuentes sancxerunt. 2 Audiui enim, Domino

⁸⁸ dissimulato *J* dissimulat// *T* dissimulabant *T*² dissimulando *B*

⁸⁹ quod nossent *T* quod minime nossent *T*²

⁹⁰ gerebatur *T*

teste non mencior, quodam tempore cuidam seni referre, quod antiquis temporibus ab eiusdam ecclesiae abbatibus prohibitum sit ibi accessum foeminarum. 3 Ante vero ipsius sacri cenobii, tantum quantum potest hictus iaci sagitte, erat ecclesia in honore beatissime hac gloriosissime virginis Mariae fabricata, sub qua carpitur via qua pervenitur ad predictum cenobium. 4 Iuxta igitur istius ecclesie fuit quaedam domus, in qua hospitabantur omnes feminae quae ad adorandum Deum ibi veniebant et merita illorum apostolorum, nobiles vel ignobiles queque. 5 Eratque⁹¹ crux ibi Deo sacrata iuxta viam, muro et calce composita, que adhuc in odiernum permanet diem, in qua, ut opinor, erant preciose reliquie collocatae; quam nulla feminarum ultra eandem audebat vel quippiam progredi, ut ad seniore⁹² aliquando perveniret monasterium; quia ut fertur ideo ibi apposita fuit. 6 Nam si contigisset, ut aliqua hob qualicumque temeritate vellet statutum terminum irritare, continuo aut cum ignominia aut cum infirmitate nimia revertebatur, aut mortem corporis ilico patiebatur. 7 Tradunt autem nonnulli, qui eius antiquitatem vel actum legerunt, quod ibi olim reperta sit ista constitutio. 8 Nam ipsi monachi hoc decretum ab ipso suae foundationis die usque ad destruccionem ipsius loci ultimam, quam fecerunt ipsi Sarraceni qui de Fraxenedo exierunt, inviolabiliter et inconcusse tenuerunt. 9 De qua nonnulli exemplum sumentes, observari dicuntur, quemadmodum ipsi nuper observabant, veluti hodie faciunt aliquantuli, et ipsi valde perpauci. 10 Erat enim ipse locus ita in circuitu suo oppido premunitus⁹³, ut cum modicis obstaculis possit undique protegi, aut cum stipitibus maceriae vel peribolo. 11 Ergo ex uno latere rupis excelsa atque saxea

⁹¹ Eaque T Eratque T^l

⁹² asenior T ad seniore T^l

⁹³ premonitus T praemunitus T^l

preminet, in cuius cacumine sunt ecclesiae a predictis patribus fabricate; ex altera vero parte montem⁹⁴ excelsum atque nemorosum⁹⁵ nomine Panarium, qui in sua summitate pascua dicitur retinere uberrima.

3. 1 Nam cur hoc feminis illo tempore vetitum sit, ne ad hunc⁹⁶ coenobium accessum aberent, quandoque necesse est, quantumcumque pudore abiecto quippiam enarrare. 2 Igitur devotissimus vir Deo Abbo patricius antequam tantum coenobium, id est Novaliciense⁹⁷, sua sacra ordinacione institueret, fuit in eadem civitate monasterium, scilicet Siusina in loco cui vocabulum est Urbiano. 3 In quo fuerat prepositus quidam, contra quem diabolus insidiator humani generis sua profana machinamenta seviriter iaciens, concupivit etiam, quod nefas est dicere, formam cuiusdam mulieris. 4 De quo scelere predictus Abbo altius cum ingemisset, cepit casus humane fragilitatis, ut in priori libello dixi, cogitare, dicens: 5 “Non potest tuta fore monachorum abitacio, si circa urbes⁹⁸ vel vicos fiat eorum assidua conversacio.” 6 Tunc mutavit⁹⁹ monasterium in ipsa valle Novelucis, ubi testamentum suum feliciter delagivit, precipiens abbati et monachis, ut nulla femina nobilis vel ignobils¹⁰⁰ ultra ipsum sacrum locum audeat pedibus contingere; relinquens intera in priori cella aliquantos monachos diuturna religione probatos, sub ditione ipsius loci scilicet Novaliciensis. 7 In quo siquidem loco tam ab ipso quam etiam ab illius loci

⁹⁴ montem *T* mons *T*²

⁹⁵ excelsum atque nemorosum *T* excelsus atque nemorosus *T*²

⁹⁶ hoc *T*²

⁹⁷ Novaliciensem *T*

⁹⁸ urbium *T* urbes *T*²

⁹⁹ notavit *T* mutavit *T*^d

¹⁰⁰ nobilis ignobilis *T* nobilis vel ignobilis *T*²

abbatibus prohibitum sit semper ibi accessum feminarum, usque quo profanatum est ipsum locum ultima vice ab impia gente Sarracenorum. 8 Ecce cunctis liquide patet, unde iste mos primum monasteriis inoleverit. 9 Hec autem sententia, que huic libro inserendo conscripsimus, non de relatione alicuius hominis vel nostro visu addidimus, sed ad quodam antistite Petro, qui librum¹⁰¹ quondam suis legit temporibus Veronam, in quo multa de eodem loco invenit. 10 Ab ipso enim audivimus talia, qualia hic a nobis apposita sunt. 11 Scimus ergo in veritate, nonnullas fuisse quondam vitas in illo loco conscriptas de illorum abbatum seu monachorum atque de hactu ipsius loci, qui diutissime olim ibi sanctitatem exercentes, virtutibus coruscantes micuerunt; sicut legimus de Asinario et Waltario ac de Arnulfo et Frodoino, de Aldrado quoque atque de aliis pluribus, quorum nomina a nobis omnino ignota sunt. 12 Sed sicut superius iam diximus, per mundum dispersi predicti libri inrecuperabile nobis est dampnum.

4. 1 Quodam igitur tempore cum Karolus princeps Francorum, Pipini ducis filius, dum regnum Italicum divinitus a Deo optinuisset et in Novalicio monasterio quodam tempore residisset, – scilicet in diebus sancte quadragesime; nam ista ei erat consuetudo, quando in Italiam veniebat, ut in supradictis diebus in antedicto manebat loco; diligebat enim ipse valde hoc coenobium, eo¹⁰² quod multi nobiles ex regno Francorum in eum sepius viderentur sumere abitum religionis – cumque quadam die ad matutinum ipse imperator surrexisset monachorum, videlicet in feria quinta qua celebrabatur cena Domini, erat uxor eius regina nomine Berta multo tempore cupiens videre hunc monasterium. 2 Quae latenter surgens eadem nocte, nemine sciente

¹⁰¹ libro *T* librum *T'*

¹⁰² eo – religionis *add. T*³

preter unam suam fidelissimam, induit se byrro, ut a nemine agnosceretur, concitoque gradu extemplo tendit ad monasterium. 3 Ubi ante fores oratorii beati Petri advenit, subito cecidit ac ilico exspiravit. 4 Cum autem finitum matutinum rex ad cubiculum regrederetur, invenit eam iacentem, ubi prius corruerat. 5 Pueri vero regis qui antecedeabant, adhibitis propius cereis contemplabantur eam, mirantes quenam esset. 6 At ubi rex eam agnovit, ita inquit ad eam: 7 “Cum illis ergo pedibus, cum quibus huc venisti, heu nequibus mi cara iam remeare.” 8 Amoventesque igitur protinus eam multumque eius funus plangentes¹⁰³, in diem usque tercium eius protendentes sepulturam, ad ultimum cum maximo honore cum turba copiosa eius ducentes obsequium ad ecclesiam beate Marie, que Ad crucem dicitur, humantes sepelierunt. 9 Cuius sepulchrum¹⁰⁴ ab incolis loci¹⁰⁵ sepius mihi ostensum est. 10 Rex autem monasterium suis regiis decorans muneribus, abiit.

5. 1 Ad dexteram namque huius monasterii partem habetur montem Romuleum, excelsiorem¹⁰⁶ cunctis montibus sibi adherentibus. 2 In hunc ergo montem¹⁰⁷ fertur quondam habitasse estivis temporibus Romulus quidam rex elephantiosissimus, a quo et nomen accepit, propter refrigerium et amoenitatem loci vel lacus. 3 Hic ergo mons ad dexteram ut diximus circumcingit predictum coenobium, ad cuius radicem pergit¹⁰⁸ iter qua¹⁰⁹ vehitur Burgundiam. 4 In eo quippe monte asserit popularis

¹⁰³ plangentes *T*

¹⁰⁴ sepuchrum *T*

¹⁰⁵ incole loci *T* incolis loci illius *T*²

¹⁰⁶ montem romuleum excelsiorem *T* mons romuleus excelsior *T*²

¹⁰⁷ hunc...montem *T* hoc...monte *T*²

¹⁰⁸ pergit *T* est *T*²

vulgus habere nonnulla ferarum genera, sicut et in Cinisio monte, ursi, ibices, capreae et aliarum ad venacionem apta. 5 De quo oritur rivulus, descendens per nimiam petrarum ipsarum profunditatem, in quo dicitur fontem salitam¹¹⁰ orire mixtimque cum eo currere. 6 Ibices autem et capreae ac oves domestice sepius solent ad eum concurrere, scilicet per crepidinem ipsius alvei, cum in planitiem dimergitur, ob amorem salis, ubi plerumque capiuntur. 7 Dicunt autem, quod in isto monte Romuleo inormem quondam congregasset pecuniam predictus Romulus, cum in eum maneret, ubi¹¹¹ nullus qui sponte velit pergere, aliquando ascendere valet. 8 Hic autem senex, qui mihi tanta de eodem loco retulit, insinuavit mihi, quod quodam tempore ipse observasset magnam coeli serenitatem, in qua summo surgens mane cum comite quodam nomine Clemente ad eundem quantocius festinant scandere montem. 9 Qui cum iam prope essent, cepit cacumen eius nubium densitate cooperire ac tenebrescere; deinde paulatim crescens, pervenit usque ad ipsos. 10 Ipsi vero inter tenebras nubium positi manibusque se palpantes, vix per eandem obscuritatem evadere potuerunt. 11 Visum itaque, ut dicebant, erat illis, ut desuper lapides mitterentur. 12 Nam et aliis nonnullis talia contigisse ferunt. 13 In summitate vero sua ex una parte nil aliud invenitur praeter salvincam; ex altera namque parte lacum mirae magnitudinis cum prato¹¹² fertur esse. 14 Idem autem senex solitus erat narrare de quodam cupidissimo¹¹³ marchione nomine Arduino¹¹⁴; qui cum sepius talia a

¹⁰⁹ quo *T*²

¹¹⁰ fontem salitam *T* fons salitus *T*²

¹¹¹ quo *T*²

¹¹² pratum *T* prato *T*²

¹¹³ impudicissimo *T* cupidissimo *T*²

rusticis audiret, videlicet de thesauro in eo congregato, accensoque animo protinus mandans clericis, ut celeriter secum propere illuc ascendere debeant. 15 Qui acceptam crucem et aquam benedictam atque vexilla regia letaniasque canentes, ire perrexerunt; qui antequam pervenirent ad apicem montis, aequae ut primi cum ignominia sunt reversi. 16 Ergo quia occasio narrandi se intulit, dum circumquaque narratio se extendit, amodo ad enarrandum opus ceptum¹¹⁵ vertamus stilum.

6. 1 Itaque ab episcopis Maurigenensis ecclesie sermonem exordiamur¹¹⁶. 2 Inclitus autem Abbo patricius Romanorum sic inter cetera quae instituit vel ordinavit, talia fatus verba ait: 3 “A clericis itaque istarum civitatum vicinarum, quibus Deus me rectorem et dominum constituit, praecipio, ut nullam aliquando violenciam¹¹⁷, scilicet ab archidiacono vel primicerio predicti paciantur monachi; et ut crisma et sacro¹¹⁸ gratis ab ipsis accipiant oleo¹¹⁹. 4 Consecrationes¹²⁰ quoque altarium vel benedictiones sacerdotum seu clericorum ab episcopo ecclesiae Maurigenensis sine aliquo lucro vel premio accipiant; statimque post peractam consecrationem sine mora episcopus ad propriam redeat sedem. 5 Si autem episcopus ibi defuerit per qualicumque absenciam¹²¹, supradicti monachi ubi melius elegerint accipiant episcopum, qui et ipse eadem faciat similiter.” 6 Hucusque de decretis viri

¹¹⁴ Arduinus *T*²

¹¹⁵ ///ptum *T*

¹¹⁶ exordiamur amur in ras. *T*²

¹¹⁷ nulla a. violencia *T* nullam a. violenciam *T*²

¹¹⁸ sacro *T* sacrum *T*²

¹¹⁹ oleo *T* oleum *T*²

¹²⁰ consecra///es *T*

¹²¹ qualicumque absencia *T* qualemcumque absenciam *T*²

religiosisimi Abbonis. 7 In solempnitatibus vero beati Petri apostolorum principis erat talis consuetudo, ut veniens episcopus predictus Maurigenensis cum mapula, ad omne quidem obsequium abbatis paratus¹²², digniter ut decebat valde stola indutus candida, ante ipsius sacri coenobii stabat abbatem ad tota missarum solempnia. 8 Nam usque in presentem diem in antedictu episcopio ab ipsis tenetur beneficium, quod olim ab ipso monasterio optinuerunt prius episcopi quam ipsi. 9 Sic fecisse refertur Mainardus, Ioseph, Wilielmus, Benedictus episcopi. 10 Historum ergo pithafia episcoporum in praedicto sepius vidi monasterio, ubi umati quiescunt.

7. 1 Dicitur autem in hoc monasterio prisco habuisse tempore monachum quendam olitorem, nomine Waltharium, nobili ortum stigmatem ac regali procreatum¹²³ sanguine. 2 Famosissimus enim valde ubique fuisse adletham ac fortis viribus¹²⁴ refertur, sicut de eo quidam sapiens versicanorus scripsit: 3 “Waltarius fortis, quem nullus terruit hostis, / Colla superba domans, victor ad astra volans. / 4 Vicerat hic totum duplici certamine mundum, / Insignis bellis, clarior ast meritis. / 5 Hunc Boreas rigidus, tremuit quoque torridus Indus; / Ortus et occasus solis eum metuit. / 6 Cuius fama suis titulis redimita coruscis, / Ultra caesareas scandit abhinc aquilas.” 7 Hic post multa prelia et bella, que viriliter in seculo gesserat, cum iam prope corpus eius senio conficeretur, recordans pondera suorum delictorum, qualiter ad rectam penitentiam pervenire mereretur. 8 Qui cum in monasterio, ubi districtior norma custodiretur monachorum, explere melius animo deliberasset¹²⁵, continuo baculum

¹²² paratum *T* paratus *T*²

¹²³ uualtharium n. ortum s. a. r. procreatum *T* uualtharius n. ortus s. a. r. procreatus *T*²

¹²⁴ adletham ac fortis viribus *add T*^l

¹²⁵ melius deliberasset *T* melius animo deliberasset *T*^l

queritans perpulcrum, in cuius summitate plurimis¹²⁶ configi precepit anulis¹²⁷, qui per singulis¹²⁸ ipsorum anorum singulis tintinnabulis¹²⁹ appendi¹³⁰ fecit; sumensque habitum peregrini, atque cum ipso pene totum peragrans mundum, ut exploraret cum ipso studia vite monachorum atque regulam¹³¹ ipsorum, ad quorumcumque pervenisset monasteria. 9 Tuncque illam quam olim ferunt peregrinationem habuisse, aggressus est. 10 Qui cum in qualicumque¹³² ingrederetur monasterium tempore quo ipsi monachi ad laudes Deo reddendas intrabant – hoc enim ipse valde observabat, – percuciebat siquidem bis vel ter cum ipso baculo pavementum ecclesiae, ut ad sonitum ipsorum tintinnabulorum discerneret illorum disciplinam. 11 Erat enim in eo maxima calliditas et sollertis¹³³ exploratio, ut sic monachorum disciplinam agnosceret. 12 Qui cum, ut supra retulimus, prope totum peragrasset cosmum, venit utique ad Novaliciensem tunc in studio sanctitatis famosissimum monasterium. 13 Ubi cum ingressus esset ecclesiam, percussit more solito ecclesiae solum. 14 Ad quem sonitum quidam ex pueris retrorsum aspiciens, ut videret quid hoc esset, protinus magister scole in eum prosiliens, alapa percussit puerum alumpnum. 15 Ubi

¹²⁶ plurimis *T* plurimos *T*²

¹²⁷ anulis *T* anulos *T*²

¹²⁸ singulis *T* singulos orbiculos *T*² singulas orbiculas *T*³

¹²⁹ singulis tintinnabulis *T* singula tintinnabula *T*²

¹³⁰ appendi *T* appendere *T*²

¹³¹ regula *T* regulam *T*²

¹³² alicumque *T* qualicumque *T*^l quodcumque *T*²

¹³³ sollertis *T* sollers *T*²

ergo Waltarius talia vidit, ingemuit ilico et ait: 16 “En ergo hic, quod¹³⁴ multis diebus nonnulla terrarum spacia quaeritans repperire talia adhuc non valui.” 17 Exiens igitur statim ab¹³⁵ ecclesia, mandavit siquidem abbati, ut secum colloquium habere dignaretur. 18 Cui cum suam insinuasset voluntatem, in proximo habitum sumens monachorum, efficitur protinus cultor¹³⁶ orti sponte et voluntarie ipsius monasterii. 19 Ipse vero accipiens duas longissimas funes, extenditque eas per ortum, unam scilicet per longum, alteram¹³⁷ namque per transversum, tempore estatis omnes noxias in illas suspendebat erbas, videlicet radicibus¹³⁸ ipsarum desuper expandebat contra solis fervorem, ut ultra non vivificarentur.

8. 1 Hic ergo Waltarius quis vel unde nuperrime fuerit, vel a quo patre genitus sit, non est bonum silencio abscondere. 2 Fuit enim quidam rex in Aquitanie regnum nomine Alferus. 3 Hic de coniuge propria habuit filium nomine Waltarium¹³⁹, quem supra nominavimus. 4 Huius temporibus in Burgundie regnum alius rex extiterat nomine Criricus, qui similiter habuit filiam valde decoram nomine Ildegundam¹⁴⁰. 5 Hii vero reges iuramentum inter se dederant, ut quando ipsi pueri ad legitimam etatem primitus venissent, se invicem sociarent, scilicet cum tempus nubendi illis venisset. 6 Qui ergo pueri antequam se sociarent, subiecta sunt regna patrum suorum atque ipsi

¹³⁴ quod *T* qui *T*²

¹³⁵ igitur ab *T* igitur statim ab *T*^l

¹³⁶ cultorem *T* cultor *T*^l

¹³⁷ altera *T* alteram *T*²

¹³⁸ radicibus *T* radices *T*²

¹³⁹ uualtarium *T* uualtarius *T*²

¹⁴⁰ ildegundam *T* ildegunda *T*²

obsides dati sub ditione regis Attilae Flagellum Dei, qui eos secum duxerat cum
Aganone obside regis Francorum nomine Gibico.

9. 1 Hii namque pueri Attila causa obsidionis a propriis accipiens patronibus cum
maxima pecunia, ad sua¹⁴¹ cum suis repetit¹⁴² arva. 2 Sic quidam metricanorus de
ipsis ait: 3 Tunc Auares gazis onerati denique multis, obsidibus sumptis Haganone,
Hilgunde puella necnon Walthario, redierunt pectore laeto. 4 Attila Pannonias
ingressus et urbe receptus, exulibus pueris magnam exhibuit pietatem, hac veluti
propriis nutrire iubebat alumpnos virginis et curam reginam mandat habere. 5 Ast
adolescentes propriis conspectibus ambos semper inesse iubet, sed et artibus imbuit
illos, presertimque iocis belli sub tempore habentis. 6 Qui simul ingenio crescentes
mentis et aevo, robore vincebant fortes animoque sophistas, donec iam cunctos
superarent fortiter Hunos. 7 Militiae primos tunc Attila fecerat illos; sed non
inmerito; quoniam si quando moveret bella per insignes regionum illarum, isti ex
pugna victoria micabant, ideoque princeps ille quidni dilexerat illos? 8 Virgo etiam,
quae cum ipsis ducta fuerat captiva, Deo sibi prestante reginae placavit vultum, et
ipsa auxit illi amorem. 9 Ex nobilis ergo moribus et operum¹⁴³ habundans sapientiae,
ad ultimum vero fit ipsa regis et reginae thesauris custoda¹⁴⁴ cunctis et modicum deest
quin regnet et ipsa; nam quicquid voluit de rebus fecit et actis. 10 Gybichus interea
rex Francorum defungitur, et regno¹⁴⁵ illo Cundharius eius successit filius, statimque

¹⁴¹ suam T sua T^2

¹⁴² repetit T rediuit T^2

¹⁴³ operum T operibus T^2

¹⁴⁴ custoda T custos T^2

¹⁴⁵ et regno T regno T^2

foedera Pannoniarum dissolvit, atque censum illi deinceps negavit. 11 At vero Haganus exul, agnita proprii domini morte, ilico fugam parat. 12 Ex cuius¹⁴⁶ discessum rex cum regina multum dolentes, Waltharium retinere nitentes, ne forte simili exitu illum ammittentes, rogare illum coeperunt, ut filiam alicuius regis satrapis Pannoniarum summeret sibi uxorem¹⁴⁷, et ipse ampliaret illi rure¹⁴⁸ domosque. 13 Quibus Waltharius talia respondit verba: 14 “si nuptam,” inquit, “accipiam secundum domini preceptum, in primis vinciar curis et amore puellae, aedificare domos cultumque intendere ruris. 15 Nil ergo, mi senior, tam dulce mihi, quam semper tibi inesse fidelis¹⁴⁹; teque optime deprecor pater per propriam vitam atque per invictam gentem Pannoniarum¹⁵⁰, ut non ulterius me cogas sumere taedas.” 16 Cumque haec dixisset, sermonis statim deserit omnes. 17 Sicque rex deceptus, sperans Waltharium recedere numquam. 18 Moxque satrapae illi certissima venerat fama de quandam gentem¹⁵¹ quondam ab Hunis devictam¹⁵² super se iterum hostiliter ruentem¹⁵³. 19 Tunc ad Waltharium convertitur actio rerum; Qui mox militiam percensuit ordine totam. 20 Et bellatorum confortat corda suorum. 21 Nec mora, consurgit, sequiturque exercitus omnis. 22 Et ecce locum conspexerat pugnae, Et numeratam per latos aciem campos; Iamque congressus uterque infra teli iactum

¹⁴⁶ Ex cuius *T* cuius *T*²

¹⁴⁷ uxorem *T* sibi uxorem *T*^l

¹⁴⁸ rure *T* rura *T*²

¹⁴⁹ fideli *T* fidelis *T*²

¹⁵⁰ pannoniarum *T* pannoniorum *T*^l

¹⁵¹ quandam gentem *T* quadam gente *T*²

¹⁵² devictam *T* devicta *T*²

¹⁵³ ruentem *T* ruente *T*²

Constiterat cuneus. 23 Tunc utique clamor ad auras Tollitur; horrenda confundit¹⁵⁴
classica voce, Continuoque hastae volitant hinc indeque densae. 24 Fraxinus et
cornus ludum miscebat in unum, Fulminis¹⁵⁵ inque modum cuspis vibrata micabat.
25 Fulmineos promunt henses clipeosque revolvunt. 26 Inde concurrit acies, et
postmodum pugnam restaurant, Ibique pectora equorum partim rumpuntur pectoribus,
Sternuntur et quasdam partes virorum duro umbone. 27 Waltharius tamen in medio
furit agmine bello, Obvia quaeque metens armis, hac limite pergens. 28 Hunc ubi
conspiciunt hostes tantas dare strages, Acsi presentem metuebant cernere mortem; Et
quemcumque locum seu dextram sive sinistram Waltharius peteret, cuncti mox terga
dederunt. 29 Cumque ex victoria coronati lauro Waltharius cum Hunis reverteretur,
mox palatini ministri arcis Ipsius laeti occurrerunt, equitemque tenebant, Donec vir
inclitus ex alta descenderent sella. 30 Quique demum forte requirunt si bene res
vergant. 31 Qui modicum illis narrans intraverat aulam. 32 Erat enim oppido
lassus¹⁵⁶, regisque cubile petebat. 33 Illicque in ingressu Hilgundem solam offendit
residentem; Cui post amabilem amplexionem atque dulcia oscula dixit: 34 “Ocius
huc potum ferto, quia fessus anhelus.” 35 Illa mero tallum complevit mox pretiosum,
Atque Walthario ad bibendum obtulit: 36 Qui signans accepit¹⁵⁷, Virgineamque
manum propria constrinxit; at illa Reticens vultum intendit in eum. 37 Cumque
Waltharius bibisset, vacuum vas reddidit illi – Ambo enim noverant de se sponsalia
facta – Provocat et tali caram sermone puellam: 38 “Exilium pariter patimur iam

¹⁵⁴ confunditur *T* confundit *T*²

¹⁵⁵ Fluminis *T*

¹⁵⁶ lapsus *T* lassus *T*^l

¹⁵⁷ recepit *T* accepit *T*^l

tempore tanto. 39 Non ignoramus enim, quod nostri quondam parentes Inter se nostra de re fecere futura.” 40 Quae cum diu talia et alia huiusmodi audisset virgo verba, cogitabat hoc illi per hyroniam dicere, sed paululum cum conticuisset, talia illi fatur: 41 “Quid lingua simulas quod ab imo pectore dampnas? 42 Ore mihi fingis, toto quod corde refutas, Tamquam si sit tibi magnus pudor ducere nuptam.” 43 Vir sapiens contra respondit, et intulit ista: 44 “Absit, quod memoras. 45 Dextrorsum porrige sensum. 46 Scis¹⁵⁸ enim, nil umquam me simulata mente locutum. 47 Adest¹⁵⁹ itaque hic nullus, exceptis nobis duobus. 48 Amodo namque esto mente sollicita, quae extrinsecus es regis reginaeque thesauris custoda. 49 In primis galeam regis tunicamque trilicem Assero lorica fabrorum insigne ferentem. 50 Diripe bina, dehinc mediocria scrinia tolle. 51 His armillarum tantum da Pannonicarum, Donec vix releves unum ad pectoris honum¹⁶⁰, Inde quater binum mihi fac de more coturnum. 52 Insuper a fabris hamos clam posce retortos. 53 Nostra viatica sint pisces simul atque volucres. 54 Ipse ego piscator sed auceps esse cohartor. 55 Haec intra ebdomede caute per singula comple. 56 Audisti quod habere vianti forte¹⁶¹ necesse est. 57 Postquam septenos Phoebus remeaverit¹⁶² orbes Convivia laeta parabo Regi ac reginae, satrapis, ducibus, famulisque, Atque omni ingenio potu sepelire studebo, ita ut nullus supersit, qui sciat vel recognoscat, cur vel ob quam

¹⁵⁸ Sis *T* Scis *T*^l

¹⁵⁹ Ad Adest *T* Adest *T*²

¹⁶⁰ honum *T* honus *T*²

¹⁶¹ forti *T* forte *T*^l

¹⁶² remeaueret *T* remeauerit *T*^l

causam factum sit tale convivium. 58 Te tamen premoneo mediocriter vinum¹⁶³
utere, ut vix sitim extinguas ad mensam. 59 Reliqui vero cum surrexerint, tu ilico ad
nota recurre opuscula. 60 At ubi potus violentia superaverit cunctos, Tunc simul
occiduas properemus querere partes.” 61 Virgo vero dicta viri valde memor
praecepta complevit¹⁶⁴. 62 Et ecce Prefinita dies epularum venit, et ipse Waltharius
qui magnis instruxit sumptibus escas. 63 Luxuria denique in media residebat mensa.
64 Rex itaque ingreditur aulam, velis undique septam; heros itaque solito more
salutans quem magnanimus Duxerat ad solium, quem bissus compsit et ostrum. 65
Consedit, laterique duces hinc indeque binos Assedere iubet; reliquos locat ipse
minister Centenos simul accubitus, et diversas dapes libans convivium redundat. 66 His
sublatis alie referuntur edende, Et pigmentatos¹⁶⁵ crateres Bachus adornat. 67
Waltharius cunctos ad vinum ortatur et escam. 68 Postquam depulsa fames fuerat
atque sublata mensa, Waltharius iamdictus dominum letanter adhorsus Dixit: 69 “In
hoc rogo gratia vestra ut clarescat In primis, atque vos reliquos laetificetis.” 70 Qui
simul in verbo nappam dedit arte peractam, Gestam referentem priorum ordinem
sculpture ipsius. 71 Quam rex accipiens uno austu vacuaverat. 72 Et confestim iubet
reliquos omnes tali bibitione imitari. 73 Tunc citissime accurrunt pincerne atque
recurrunt: Pocula plene dabant, et inania sucipiaebant. 74 Ebrietas fervens tota
dominatur aula. 75 Balbutit madido facundia fusa palato. 76 Seniores fortes videres
plantis titubare: Taliter in seram produxit bacchica noctem. 77 Nam ire volentes

¹⁶³ vinum T vino T^2

¹⁶⁴ secum T complevit T^l

¹⁶⁵ pigmentatus T

Waltharius munere retraxit, donec pressi somno potuque gravati per porticibus¹⁶⁶
 sternuntur¹⁶⁷ humo tenus omnes passim. 78 Eciamsi tota civitas igne fuisse succensa,
 et ipse flamivoma super ipsos crassari videretur, scilicet minitans mortem, Nullus
 remansit, qui scire potuisset causam. 79 Tandem dilectam vocat ad semet¹⁶⁸
 mulierem. 80 Precipiens causas citius deferre paratas. 81 Et ipse de stabulis duxit
 victorem aequorum, Quem ob virtutem leonem vocitaverat ipse. 82 Stat sonipes, ac
 frena ferox spumantia mandit. 83 Postquam enim hunc caballum ligamentis solito
 circumdederat, ecce Scrinia plena gazae, quibus utrique suspendit lateri, Atque itinere
 longo modicella ponit cibaria, Loraque virgineae mandat fluitantia dextrae. 84
 Ipseque vestit¹⁶⁹ lorica more gygantis, Atque capiti inposuit suo rubras cum casside
 cristas, Ingentesque complectitur aureis ocreis Et levum femur ancipiti precinxerat
 hense, Atque alio dextrum pro ritu Pannoniarum. 85 His tamen ex una tantum dat
 vulnera parte. 86 Tunc hastam dextra rapiens clipeumque sinistra, Coeperat invisa
 terra trepidus decedere. 87 Femina duxit equum, nonnulla talenta gerentem. 88 Ipsa
 vero in manibus virgam tenet simul columnam, In qua piscator hamum transponit in
 undam. 89 Nam idem vir maximus gravatus erat undique telis; Ob hoc suspectam
 habuit cuncto sibi tempore pugnam. 90 Sed cum prima lumina Phoebus rubens terris
 ostendit, In silvis latitare student, et opaca requirunt. 91 Ergo tantum timor pectora
 muliebria pulsabat, Ut cunctos susurros, auras¹⁷⁰ vel ventos horreret, Formidans

¹⁶⁶ per porticibus *T* porticibus *T*²

¹⁶⁷ sternentur *T* sternuntur *T*¹

¹⁶⁸ semet *T* se *T*²

¹⁶⁹ vestitus *T* vestit *T*²

¹⁷⁰ aures *T*

collisos racemos sive volucres. 92 Vicis diffugiunt, speciosa novalia linquunt,
Montibus intonsis cursus ambage recurvos. 93 Ast urbis populus somno vinoque
solutus¹⁷¹. 94 Sed postquam surgunt, ductorem quique requirunt, Ut grates faciant
hac festa laude saluent. 95 Atila nempe utraque manu caput amplexatur,
egrediturque thalamo ipse rex; Waltharium dolendo advocat, ut proprium quereret
forte dolorem. 96 Cui respondent¹⁷² ipsi ministri, se non potuisse invenire virum; sed
tamen princeps sperat, eundem Waltharium¹⁷³ in somno quietum recubare tentum
hactenus, hac occultum locum sibi delegisse sopori. 97 Ospirin vero regina, hoc illi
nomen erat, postquam cognovit Hildegunde abesse nec vestem deferre iuxta suetum
morem, tristior satrape immensis strepens clamoribus dixit: 98 “O detestandas quas
heri sumpsimus escas! 99 O vinum, quod Pannonias destruxerat omnes! 100 Quod
domino regi iam dudum prescia dixi, Approbat iste dies, quem nos superare
nequimus. 101 Hen! hodie imperii nostri cecidisse columpna Noscitur; hen! robur
procul ivit et inclita virtus, Waltharius lux Pannoniae discesserat inde; Hildgundem
quoque mi karam deduxit alumpnam!” 102 Iam princeps efferus¹⁷⁴ nimia succenditur
ira. 103 Mutant priorem laetitiam merentia corda. 104 Sic intestinis rex fluctuatur
undique curis, Atque ipso quippe die fastidit omnino potus et escam, Nec placidam
curam membris potuit dare quietem. 105 At ubi nox supervenit atra, Decidit in
lectum, ubi nec lumina clausit, Vertiturque frequenter de latus in latere Tamquam si

¹⁷¹ solutus *T* sepultus *T*²

¹⁷² respondunt *T* respondent *T*²

¹⁷³ sperat vualtharium *T* sperat eundem vualtharium *T*^l

¹⁷⁴ offere *T* afferus *T*²

iacula transfixus esset acuta¹⁷⁵. 106 Indequē surgens discurrit in urbem, Atque
thorum veniens, simul attingit atque reliquit. 107 Taliter insomnem consumpserat
Attila noctem. 108 At profugi comites per amica silentia euntes. 109 Tunc rex
votum fecerat, ut si quis Waltharium illi vinctum afferret, Mox illum aurum vestiret
saepe recoctum¹⁷⁶. 110 Sed nullus in tam magna regione Fuit inventus tyrannus, dux
sive comes, seu miles, sive minister, qui quamvis proprias ostendere cuperet vires,
Waltharium aliquando iratum presumpserit armis insequi. 111 Nota siquidem virtus
eius fuerat facta prope omnibus terrae habitatoribus. 112 Qui Waltharius, ut dixi,
fugiens noctibus ivit, atque die saltus requirens et arbusta densa. 113 Hic vero arte
accersita pariter volucres arte capit, nunc fallens visca¹⁷⁷, nunc fisso denique ligno.
114 Similiter in flumina inmittens hamum, rapiebat sub gurgitibus predam. 115
Sicque famis pestem pepulit tolerando laborem. 116 Namque toto tempore fugae se
virginis usu Continuit vir Waltharius, laudabilis heros. 117 Et ecce quadraginta dies
sol per mundum circumflexerat, Ex quo Pannonia fuerat digressus ab urbe. 118 Ergo
eo die, quo numerum clauserat istum, Venit ad fluvium iam vespere mediante, Cui
nomen est Renum¹⁷⁸, qua cursus tendit ad urbem Nomine Warmatiam, regali sede
nitentem. 119 Illic pro naulo pisces dedit antea captos; Cumque esset transpositus,
graditur properanter anhelus. 120 Orta vero dies, Portitor exurgens prefatam venit in
urbem, Ubi regali coquo, reliquorum certe magistro, Detulerat pisces, quos vir ille
viator dederat. 121 Hos vero dum pigmentis condisset et apposuisset Regi

¹⁷⁵ iacula t. e. acuta *T* iaculis t. e. acutis *T*²

¹⁷⁶ aurum v. s. recoctum *T* auro v. s. recocto *T*²

¹⁷⁷ visca *T* visco *T*²

¹⁷⁸ renum *T* renus *T*²

Cundhario, miratus fatur ab alto: 122 “Ergo istiusmodi pisces mihi Francia numquam ostendit. 123 Dic me quantotius, cuihas homo detulit illos?” 124 At ipse respondens narrat, quod nauta dedisset. 125 Tunc princeps hominem iussit accersire eundem; Et cum venisset, de re quesitus eadem Talia dicta dedit et causam ex ordine pandit: 126 “Vespere enim preterito residebam ego litore Rheni. 127 Conspexi, et ecce viatorem vidi festinanter venire, Tamquam pugne per membra paratum. 128 Aere etenim poenitus fuerat, rex inclite, cinctus; Gerebat namque scutum gradiens, et hastam choruscam. 129 Viro certe forte similis fuit, et quamvis ingens Asportat honus, gressum tamen extulerat acrem. 130 Hunc incredibili forme puella decorata nitore Assequebatur, ipsaque caballum per lora rexit robustum, bina quidem scrinia non parva ferentem dorso. 131 Quae scrinia, dum cervicem sonipes ille discutiebat ad altum, voluminaque crurum superba glomerare cupiebat, dabant sonitum quasi quis gemmis illiserit aurum. 132 Hic miles mihi presentes pro munere dederat pisces.” 133 Cumque his Hagano audisset verbis – residebat quippe ad mensam – Laetus in medium prompsit de pectore verbum: 134 “Congaudete mihi, queso, quia talia¹⁷⁹ novi. 135 Waltharius collega meus remeavit ab Hunis.” 136 Cundharius vero princeps atque superbus ex hac ratione Vociferatur, et omnis ei mox aula reclamat: 137 “Congaudete mihi, iubeo, quia gazam, quam Gybichus rex pater meus transmisit Attile regi Hunnorum, hanc mihi cunctipotens huc in mea regna remisit.” 138 Qui cum dixisset talia, mensam pede perculit, et exiliens ducere aequum iubet et sellam componere ilico sculptam¹⁸⁰; atque de omni plebe elegit duodecim viros, viribus¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ quia talia *T* qui alia *T*^l

¹⁸⁰ sculpta *T* sculptam *T*²

insignes et plerumque animis probatos, inter quos simul ire Haganone iubebat. 139
 Qui Hagano memor antiquae fidei et prioris sotii, nitebatur transvertere rebus. 140
 Rex tamen e contra instat et clamat: 141 “Ne tardate, viri! precingite corpora
 ferro¹⁸²!” 142 Instructi itaque milites telis, nam iussio regis urgebat, exiebant portis,
 ut Waltharium caperent, sed omnimodis Hagano prohibere studebat. 143 At infelix
 rex coepto itinere resipiscere non vult. 144 Interea vir inclitus atque magnanimus
 Waltharius de flumine pergens venerat in silvam Vosagum¹⁸³ ab antiquis temporibus
 vocitatam; nam nemus est ingens et spatiosum, atque repleta ferarum plurima, habens
 ibi suetum canibus resonare tubisque. 145 In ipsa itaque sunt bini montes in secessu
 ipsius atque propinqui, in quorum medium quamvis angustum sit spatium, tamen
 specus extat amoenum. 146 Mox iuvenis ut vidit, “Huc” inquit “eamus.” 147 Nam
 postquam fugiens Avarorum arvis discesserat, Non aliter somni requiem gustaverat
 idem, Quam super innixus clipeo vix clausit¹⁸⁴ oculos. 148 Tum demum bellica
 deponens arma, dixit virgini, in cuius gremium fuerat fusus: 149 “Circumspice caute,
 Hildegund, et nebulam si tolli videris atram, tactu blando me surgere commonitato¹⁸⁵.
 150 Etiamsi magnam conspexeris ire catervam, ne subito me excutias a somno, mi
 kara, caveto; sed instantem¹⁸⁶ cunctam circa explora regionem.” 151 Haec ait, statim
 oculos conclauserat ipse, desiderantes frui iamdiu satis optata requie. 152 Ast ubi

¹⁸¹ vi/ *T*

¹⁸² fer// *T*

¹⁸³ in siluam *T* in siluam uosagum *T*^{*l*}

¹⁸⁴ clausit *T* clauserat *T*²

¹⁸⁵ commonitato *T* commoneto *T*²

¹⁸⁶ instanter *T*

Cundharius vestigia pulvere vidit, Cornipedem rapidum saevis calcaribus urguit,
dicens: 153 “Accelerate viri! iam nunc capietis eundem. 154 Numquam hodie
effugiet: furata talenta relinquet.” 155 Ilico inclitus Hagano contra mox reddidit ista:
156 “Unum tantum verbum dico tibi, regum fortissime: Si toties tu Waltharium
pugnasse videres, Quotiens ego nova caede furem, Numquam tam facile
spoliandum forte putares. 157 Vidi Pannonicas acies, cum bella agerent¹⁸⁷ Contra
aquilonares sive australes regiones. 158 Illic Waltharius propria virtute choruscus,
Hostibus invisus, sociis mirandus obibat. 159 Quisquis ei congressus erat, mox
Tartara vidit. 160 O rex et comites, experto credite, quantus in clipeum surgat, qua¹⁸⁸
turbine torqueat hastam. 161 Sed dum Cundharius malesana mente gravatus
Nequaquam flecti posset, castris propiabant. 162 At Hiltgund de vertice montis
procul aspiciens, Pulvere sublato venientes sensit; ipsum Waltharium placido tactu
vigilare monebat. 163 Eminus illa refert quandam volitare phalangam¹⁸⁹. 164 Ipse
vero oculos tentos¹⁹⁰ summi¹⁹¹ glaucomate purgans, Paulatim rigidos ferro vestiverat
artus. 165 Cumque paululum properassent, mulier corusscantes ut vidit hastas,
stupefacta nimis “Hunos hic” inquit “habemus.” 166 Que ilico in terram cadens
effatur talia tristis: 167 “Obsecro, mi senior, mea colla secentur, Ut que non merui
thalamo sociari, Nullius iam ulterius paciar consocia carnis.” 168 Cui Waltharius:
169 “Absit quod rogitas; mentis depone pavorem. 170 Ipse Dominus, qui me de

¹⁸⁷ egerent *T*

¹⁸⁸ qua *T* quo *T*²

¹⁸⁹ quandam v. phalangam *T* quasdam v. phalanges *T*²

¹⁹⁰ tersos *T*, *Walth.*

¹⁹¹ summi *T* summo *T*² somno *Walth.*

variis sepe eduxit periculis, ille valet hic hostes, credo, confundere nostros.” 171
Haec ait, oculosque adtollens effatur ad ipsam: 172 “Non assunt hic Auares, sed
Franci nebulones¹⁹², cultores regionis¹⁹³.” 173 Aspicit, et gnoscens iniunxit talia
ridens: 174 “En galeam Haganonis! meus collega veternus atque socius.” 175 Hoc
heros introitum stationis hadibat, Inferius stanti predicens sic mulieri: 176 “Coram
hac porta verbum modo iacto superbum: 177 Hinc nullus rediens Francus, quis suae
valeat nunciare uxori, qui tante presumpserit tollere gazae.” 178 Nec dum sermonem
conpleverat, et ecce humo tenus corruit, et veniam petiit, quod talia dixit. 179
Postquam autem surrexit, contemplans cautius dixit: 180 “Omnes horum quos video
nullum timeo, Haganone remoto. 181 Nam ille meos per prelia scit¹⁹⁴ mores, iamque
didicit, tenet et hic etiam sat callidus artem. 182 Quem si forte volente Deo
intercepero solum; ex aliis namque formido nulla.” 183 Ast ubi Waltharius¹⁹⁵ tali
statione receptum Conspexit Hagano, satrapae mox ista superbo Suggestit verba: 184
“O senior, desiste lacescere bello Hunc hominem! 185 Pergant primum qui cuncta
requirant, Et genus et patriam nomenque et locum relictum, vel si forte petat pacem
prebens sine sanguine.” 186 Qui licet invitatus dicta Haganoni acquievisset, misit ilico
e suis, mandans Walthario, ut redderet pecuniam quam deferebat. 187 Ad quos
Waltharius talia fertur dedisse verba: 188 “Ego patri suo eam non tuli neque sibi.
189 Set si voluerit eam capere, vi defendo eam fundens alterius sanguinem.” 190
Cumque hec denunciata essent Cundhario, protinus misit, qui eum oppugnarent. 191

¹⁹² nivilones *T* nebulones *T*^d

¹⁹³ regiones *T*

¹⁹⁴ sit *T* scit *T*²

¹⁹⁵ vualtharium *T*

Vir autem ille fortis ut erat, viriliter se ab ipsis modicum defendens, ilico interfecit.
 192 Rex autem ut vidit, et ipse protinus feroci animo cum reliquis super eum venit.
 193 Waltharius vero nichil formidans, sed magis ut supra viriliter instabat prelio. 194
 Cepit autem et ex illis Waltharius victoriam, occisis cunctis preter regem et
 Haganonem. 195 Qui cum eum nullatenus superare possent, simulaverunt fugam.
 196 Sperans ergo Waltharius eos inde discedere, reversus in statione acceptaque omni
 suppellectili sua¹⁹⁶, et ipse mox cum Ildegunda ascensis equis cepit iter agere. 197
 Cumque Waltharius egressus esset ab antro quinque vel octo stadia, tunc leti posterga
 ipsius recurrentes memorati viri, quasi victum eum iam extra rupe cogitabant. 198
 Contra quos ilico Waltharius quasi leo insurgens, armis protectus fortiter debellabat
 bellantibus sibi. 199 Qui diu multumque invicem pugnantes ac pre nimia lassitudine
 et siti deficientes, iam non valebant virorum fortissimum superare. 200 Et ecce
 respicientes viderunt a sagma Waltharii vasculum vini dependere.

10. 1 Interea in eodem monasterio pro consuetudine eisdem temporibus dicitur habuisse
 plaustrum ligneum mire pulchritudinis operatum, in quo nichil aliquando fertur
 portasse aliquid preter unam perticam, quae sepissime configebatur in eo¹⁹⁷, si
 necessitas cogeretur; sin autem, tollebatur et alio in loco recondebatur. 2 In cuius
 summitate ferunt, qui videre vel audire a videntibus potuerunt, habuisse
 tintinnabulum appensum, valde resonantem. 3 Cortes vero vel vicos ipsius
 monasterii, quae erant proximiores monasterio per Italiae tellus, in quibus ministri

¹⁹⁶ sua T suo T^l

¹⁹⁷ in unum T in eo T^l

monachorum oportunis temporibus congregabant granum aut vinum¹⁹⁸. 4 Cum autem necessitas vehendi exigeret ad monasterium eundem sumptum, mittebatur plastrum hoc¹⁹⁹ cum predicta pertica in eo conficta cum skilla ad predictos vicos, in quibus scilicet vicis inveniebantur nonnulla alia plastra congregata, plerumque centena, aliquando etiam quinquagena, quae deferebant frumenta vel vinum ad antedictum coenobium. 5 Hoc²⁰⁰ vero plastrum dominicale²⁰¹ nil ob aliud mittebatur, nisi ut agnoscerent universi magnates, quod²⁰² ex illo inclito essent plastra monasterio. 6 In quibus erat nullus dux, marchio, comes, presul, vicecomes aut villicus, qui qualicumque violentia auderet eisdem plastris inferre. 7 Nam per foros Italiae annuales, ut tradunt, nullus audebat negotia exercere, donec eundem plastrum vidissent advenire mercatores cum skilla. 8 Contigit autem quadam die, ut ministri ipsius ecclesiae cum supradictis plastribus²⁰³ oneratis solito venirent more ad monasterium. 9 Qui venientes in ipsa valle, in quodam prato invenerunt familiam regis...²⁰⁴ pascentes equos regios. 10 Qui statim ut viderunt tanta bona servis Dei ministrare, fastu superbiae inflati insurgunt ilico super eisdem hominibus, auferentes ab eis omnia quae deferebant. 11 Qui defendere volentes se et sua, incurrerunt in maiorem ignominiam, perdentes omnia. 12 Qui statim mittunt legatum ad monasterium, qui ista nunciaret abbati et fratribus.

¹⁹⁸ granum *T* granum aut vinum *T*^l

¹⁹⁹ hunc *T*

²⁰⁰ hunc *T*

²⁰¹ dominicalem *T*

²⁰² quo *T*

²⁰³ plastribus *T* plastris *T*²

²⁰⁴ lacuna 12 litterarum *T*

11. 1 Abbas autem mox iussit congregari fratres, quibus insinuavit omnem²⁰⁵ rei eventum. 2 Erat autem tunc pater congregationis eiusdem monasterii nomine Asinarius, vir sanctitatis egregius, Francicus genere, multis fulgens virtutibus. 3 Cui cum unus nomine Waltarius, cui superius memoriam fecimus, respondisset, ut diligeretur illic predictus pater sapientes fratres, ob quorum precacionem tanti sumptui dimitterent iamdicti predones invasionem: respondit protinus eidem abbas et ait: 4 “Quem prudentiorem et sapientiorem te mittere possimus, omnino ignoramus. 5 Te autem, frater, moneo ac iubeo, ut celerius ad eos pergas, nobisque victum vi raptum quantocius reddere festinent moneto; alioquin citissime in gravi ira incurrant Dei.” 6 At Waltarius cum sciret conscientie sue illorum contumacia²⁰⁶ ferre non posse, respondit, se denudandum ab ipsis tunicam quam gestabat. 7 Predictus vero pater, cum esset religiosus, ait: 8 “Si abstraxerint a te tunicam, da illis et cucullam, dicens preceptum tibi fuisse a fratribus.” 9 Cui Waltarius: “Ergo de pellicia ac de interula quid facturus sum?” 10 Respondit venerandus pater et ait: 11 “Dicito, et ex illis tibi a fratribus aeque a fratribus fuisse imperatum.” 12 Tunc Waltarius: “Obsecro, mi domine, ne irascaris, si loqui addero²⁰⁷. 13 De femoralia²⁰⁸ quid erit, si similiter voluerint facere ut prius fecerunt?” 14 Et abbas: “Iam tibi predicta suffitiat humilitas: nam de femoralibus²⁰⁹ tibi aliud non precipiam, cum magna nobis videatur fore humilitas priorum vestium expoliatio.” 15 Exiens vero Waltarius, cum talia

²⁰⁵ omne *T*

²⁰⁶ contumacia *T* contumaciam *T*²

²⁰⁷ addero *T* addidero *T*²

²⁰⁸ femoralia *T* femoralibus *T*²

²⁰⁹ femoralia *T* femoralibus *T*²

audisset a tanto patrono²¹⁰, coepit a familia queritare monasterii, an haberetur ibi
caballum²¹¹, cui fiducia inesset bellandi, si necessitas cogeretur. 16 Cui cum famuli
ipsius aecclesiae respondissent, bonos et fortes habere poene se essedos, repente iussit
eos sibi adsistere. 17 Quibus visis, ascendit mox cum calcaribus causa probationis
supra singulorum dorsa; cumque promovisset primos et secundos, et sibi
displicuissent, rennuit eos, extemplo narrans illorum vitia. 18 Ille vero recordans
secum nuper deduxisse in monasterio illo²¹² caballum valde bonum, ait illis: 19
“Illum ergo caballum quem ego huc veniens adduxi, vivit an mortuus est?” 20
Responderunt illi: 21 “Vivit, domine,” inquit; “iam vetulus est, ceterum ad usum
pistorum deputatus est, ferens quotidie annonam ad molendinum hac referens.” 22
Quibus Waltharius: “Adducatur nobis, et videamus qualiter se habetur.” 23 Cui cum
adductus esset et ascendisset super eum ac promovisset, ait: 24 “Iste,” inquit, “adhuc
bene de meo tenens nutrimentum, quod in annis iuvenilibus meis illum studui
docere²¹³.” 25 Accipiens ergo Waltharius ab abbate et cunctis fratribus
benedictionem ac valedicens, summens secum duos vel tres famulos, propere venit ad
iamdictos predatores. 26 Quos cum humiliter salutasset, coepit illos monere, ne iam
servis Dei ulterius talem inferrent iniuriam, qualem tunc fecissent. 27 Illi autem cum
dura Walthario coepissent respondere verba, Waltharius e contra sepissime illis
duriora referebat. 28 Hii vero indignati hac superbiae²¹⁴ spiritu incitati, cogeant

²¹⁰ patrone *T*

²¹¹ caballum *T* caballus *T*²

²¹² illo *T* illum *T*²

²¹³ docer? *T* docere *T*²

²¹⁴ a superbię *T*

Waltharium exuere vestimenta, quibus indutus erat. 29 At Waltharius humiliter ad omnia illos obaudiebat iuxta preceptum abbatis sui, dicens a fratribus hoc sibi fuisse imperatum. 30 Cumque expoliassent eum, coeperunt etiam calciamenta et caligas abstrahere. 31 Cum autem venissent ad femoralia, diutius institit Waltarius, dicens sibi a fratribus minime fuisse imperatum, ut foemoralia exueret. 32 Illi vero respondentes, nulla sibi fore cura de precepta monachorum. 33 Waltharius vero e contra semper asserebat, nullo modo sibi convenisse ea relinquere. 34 Cumque coepissent illi vehementissime vim facere, Waltharius clam abstrahens a sella retinaculum, in quo pes eius antea herebat, percussit uni eorum in capite, qui cadens in terram, velut mortuus factus est: arreptaque ipsius arma, percutiebat ad dexteram sive ad sinistram. 35 Deinde aspiciens iuxta se vidit vitulum pascentem; quem arripiens, abstraxit ab eo humerum, de quo percutiebat hostes, persequens ac dibachans eos per campum. 36 Volunt autem nonnulli, quod uni eorum, qui Waltario plus ceteris inportunius insistebat, cum se inclinasset, ut calciamenta Waltharii ab pedibus eius extraeret, hisdem Waltharius ilico ex pugno in collum eius percutiens, ita ut os ipsius fractum in gulam eius caderet. 37 Ex illis namque plurimis occisis, reliqui vero in fugam versi relinquerunt omnia. 38 Waltharius autem adepta victoria accipiens cuncta et sua et aliena, repedavit continuo ad monasterium, cum maxima preda oneratum²¹⁵. 39 Abbas autem talia ut ante audierat, vidit, ilico ingemuit ac se in lamentum et precibus cum reliquis pro eo dedit fratribus, increpans eum valde acrius. 40 Waltarius vero exin penitentiam accipiens a predicto patrono, ne de tanto scelere superbiretur in corpore, unde iacturam pateretur in anima. 41 Tradunt autem nonnulli, quod tribus vicibus cum paganis superirruentibus pugnaverit, atque

²¹⁵ pred oneratum *T* preda oneratus *T'*

victoriam ex illis capiens ignominiose ab arva²¹⁶ expulerit. 42 Nam ferunt aliquanti, quod alio tempore, cum de prato reverteretur ipsius monasterii, quod dicitur Mollis, de quo eiecerat equos regis Desiderii, quos²¹⁷ ibi invenerat pascentes²¹⁸ ac vastantes erbam; qui cum multos ex illis debellans vicisset ac reverteretur, invenit²¹⁹ iusta viam columnam marmoream, in qua percussit bis ex pugione, quasi leto animo ex victoria; qui maxima ex ea incidens parte, deiecit in terram. 43 Unde usque in hodiernum ibi dicitur diem Percussio vel Ferita Waltari.

12. 1 Obiit interea vir magnanimus atque inclitus comes et aleta Waltharius senex et plenus dierum. 2 Quem asserunt nostri multos vixisse annos, quorum numerum collectum non repperi; sed in actibus²²⁰ vitae suae cognoscitur, quibus extiterit temporibus. 3 Hic sicut legitur in hoc fuisse evo prudentiae²²¹ corporis ac decore²²² vultui²²³ strenuissime adornatus, ita in predicto monasterio post militie conversionem amoris obedientiae et regularis discipline oppido fervidissimus²²⁴ fuisse cognoscitur. 4 Inter alia etiam, que ipse in eodem gessit monasterio, fecit siquidem, dum vixit, in summitate cuiusdam rupis sepulcrum, in eadem petra laboriosissime excisum; qui post suae carnis obitum in eodem cum quodam nepote suo, nomine Rataldo,

²¹⁶ arva *T* arvis *T*²

²¹⁷ quo *T*

²¹⁸ de quo – pa- *in ras.* *T*

²¹⁹ venit *T* invenit *T*^l

²²⁰ actis *T* actibus *T*²

²²¹ prudentiæ *T* prudentia *T*²

²²² decorem *T* decore *T*⁹

²²³ vultui *T* vultus *T*²

²²⁴ fervidus *T* fervidissimus *T*²

cognoscitur fuisse sepultus²²⁵. 5 Hic filius fuit filii Waltharii, nomine Ratherii, quem peperit ei Hildegund prenominata puella. 6 Horum ergo virorum ossa²²⁶ post multos annos defunctionis suae sepissime visitans pre manibus habui. 7 Nam huius Rathaldi capitis quedam nobilis matrona, cum illo causa orationis cum aliis convenisset ex Italiae tellus²²⁷, occulte in brachiale²²⁸ supposuit suo, atque ad quendam²²⁹ castrum suum deportavit. 8 Quod cum quadam die igne supposito concremaretur, post multa adustionem illum recordans capite foras traxit atque contra igne²³⁰ tenuit; qui mox mirifice extintus est.

13. 1 Post itaque incursionem paganorum, quae ultima contigerat vice antequam hisdem locus reaedificaretur, ignorabatur omnino supradicta sepultura Waltharii ab incolis loci, sicut ceteras alias²³¹. 2 Eratque tunc vidua nomine Petronilla in civitate Sigusina, quae ob nimiam senectutem totam ut ferunt incedebat curvam²³²; cuius quoque oculi iam pene caligaverant. 3 Haec vero mulier habuit filium nomine Maurinum, quem pagani de predicta valle secum vim facientes deduxerunt cum ceteris concaptivis. 4 Cum quibus, ut dicebat, amplius quam triginta in illorum manserat arva annorum; postmodum vero licentia a proprio accepta domino, ad domum remeavit propriam; in qua inveniens matrem iam senio confectam, ut supra

²²⁵ sepultum *T* sepultus *T*^l

²²⁶ ossibus *T* uirorum ossibus *T*^l uirorum ossa *T*²

²²⁷ tellus *T* tellure *T*²

²²⁸ brachiale *T* brachiali *T*²

²²⁹ quendam *T* quoddam *T*²

²³⁰ igne *T* ignem *T*²

²³¹ ceteras alias *T* ceterae aliae *T*²

²³² totam u. f. i. curvam *T* tota u. f. i. curva *T*²

diximus, quae cotidie ad solis residere erat solita teporem supra quandam amplissimam petram, quae proxima erat civitati. 5 In huius ergo femine circuitu veniebant viri cum femine²³³ civitatis, scisitantes ab ea de antiquitate ipsius loci. 6 Quae referebat illis multa, maxime de Novalicio monasterio. 7 Dicebat enim illis multa et inaudita, quae viderat vel audierat a progenitoribus, et quantos abbates, quantasve destructiones ipsius loci facte a paganis fuerant. 8 Haec igitur quadam die deduci illic²³⁴ se fecerat a quibusdam viris; quae ostendit illis sepulturam Waltharii quae ante ignorabatur, sicut ab antenatis audierat, quamquam enim nulla foeminarum olim appropinquare illo in loco audebat²³⁵. 9 Referebat etiam, quantos puteos nuperrime in illo habebantur loco. 10 Nam vicini agebant pretaxatae mulieris, ducentos prope vixisse annos.

14. 1 Antiquis quoque temporibus erat monasterium subditum Novalicio in vallem Bardoniscam, ubi dicitur Plebemartyrum, pro eo quia ibi quondam occisi fuerunt monachi ipsius monasterii, cum diversi generis atque sexus²³⁶ qui ibidem quasi confugium fecerant, a paganis²³⁷ Langobardi, eo tempore, quo ipsi Novaliciensem monasterium similiter depopulaverunt. 2 Inter quos interfectus fuit quidam monachus nomine Iustus, qui iustus erat et nomine et opere, atque alter cui nomen fuit Flavianus. 3 Horum namque monachorum epythafia suis capitibus subposita sunt

²³³ femine *T* feminis *T*²

²³⁴ illic *T* illuc *T*²

²³⁵ appropinquae audebat *T* appropinquare illo in loco audebat *T*^l

²³⁶ generis sexus *T* generis atque sexus *T*^l generis sexu *T*^o

²³⁷ a paganis *T* paganis *T*^o

tempore interfectionis eorum. 4 Quorum unus sic legebatur: 5 “Hic iacet Iustus
monachus frater Leonis, sotius sancti Petri Veri.” 6 Alterum vero non reminiscimus.

15. 1 In eodem denique monasterium multae fiunt semper sanctorum visitationes, que
sepissime bonis²³⁸ monachis et simplitoribus hominibus apparent. 2 A quibus
nonnullis audiui, Domino teste, referre, quia tanta turba beatorum hominum
albatorum ibi bonis apparent in silentio noctis, quanta si videres ex civitate aliqua
omnes viri et femine simul pergere, sicut faciunt christicoli²³⁹ tempore rogationum,
quando pergunt per ecclesias sanctorum suffragia flagi.....

16.].....

17.]1patricio, qui et ipse mox tradidit eidem loco atque abbati, pro eo quia
prope erat de iamdicti coenobii²⁴⁰; et ille archiepiscopus recepit prefatam cellam
puellarum vocabulo Sancti Petri in sua civitate.

18. 1 Cum autem vir clarissimus atque mente et rebus Deo ditissimus iam sepe dictus
patricius, cum cuncta donatione, quae ex suis opibus et ruribus sive servis et ancillis,
quibus beato Petro Novaliciensi monasterio tradiderat, quem sibi, ut supra locuti
sumus, heredem mente devota instituit, timens ne aliquando post multa annorum
curricula ipsud²⁴¹ monasterium a qualicumque gente vastaretur, quod et ter eu! factum
fuisse legimus: precepit ex candidissimis marmoribus et diversis lapidum generibus
mire pulchritudinis et altitudinis elevari archum in²⁴² Sigusina civitate, herens

²³⁸ sepissime a bonis T sepissime bonis T^o

²³⁹ christicoli T christicolę T^2

²⁴⁰ erat iamdicti coenobii T erat de iamdicti coenobii T^l erat iamdicto coenobio T^2

²⁴¹ ipsud T ipsum T^2

²⁴² altitudinis in T altitudinis elevari archum in T^l

muros²⁴³ ipsius deforis; sub quo olim terebatur via, qua vehebatur iuxta aqueductum ante castrum Viennensis. 2 In quo fecit ex ambabus scribere partibus, quae et quanta in ipsa civitate et in tota valle tradiderat herede²⁴⁴ suo beato Petro; ut si aliquando invidiante vel incitante diabolo monasterium ipsud²⁴⁵ destrueretur, ut monachi qui ibidem iterum aedificantes habitare vellent, in predicto lectitando invenirent archo, quae ad eundem locum pertinere videbatur arva. 3 Propterea enim studiosissimus pater in predicto scribere voluit archo, ut quanto plures eam legerent, tanto minus honor ipsius monasterii occultaretur; videlicet ut hi qui de Italia transituri erant ad Galliam, supra se ante oculos in promptu haberent eandem scripturam; similiter vero illi qui de Gallia viam carpebant ad Italiam, ex altera archi parte haberent quae legere possent; quatenus semper scirent monachi ipsius coenobii, quid olim ibi delegisset ipse. 4 Similiter per omnes vicos et curtes precepit fieri; quae usque in odiernum permanent diem. 5 Ipse vero residebat in castrum Viennense²⁴⁶, in quo aliquantas petras de eadem re iussit conscribi.

19. 1 Erant autem sub eodem monasterio eo tempore multa monasteria, scilicet in Frantia et in Burgundia sive in Italia seu in Gallia, necnon et per diversas provincias, sicut et in Roma duo monasteria, atque in Ingolismo²⁴⁷ alia duo. 2 Cum vero persecutio paganorum facta fuisset in predicto Novalicio, tunc illi monachi qui erant de Frantia,

²⁴³ muros *T* muris *T*²

²⁴⁴ herede *T* heredi *T*²

²⁴⁵ ipsud *T* ipsum *T*²

²⁴⁶ uiennense *T* uiennensem *T*²

²⁴⁷ in ingolismo *T* in golismo *T*²

ad propriam repedaverunt arvam²⁴⁸ manentes deinceps per cellulas, quae ante fuerant sub eius ditione constitutae. 3 Similiter namque alii atque alii fecerunt, deferentes libros ex illo antiquissimo loco atque membranas. 4 Tertia autem destructione facta, permansit locus ille sacer ac Deo dicatus...²⁴⁹ annis absque habitatione alicuius hominis. 5 Sicque factum est, ut cum illi qui de Frantia fuerant sive de diversis locis, sicut supra diximus, qui ob metum paganorum exinde fugissent, ut amplius non repedarent Novalicio, neque illi ex Novaliciensi suos ultra agnoscere potuerint fratres, cum omnes monachi infra supradictorum annorum solitudinis illius defuncti fuerint.

20. 1 Narrabo etiam adhuc miracula, quae de tanto bene condecet dari loco. 2 Erat preterea nostri temporis in familia predicti coenobii bubulcus quidam, ortus ex viculo quodam Viennensi urbi²⁵⁰ proximo, nomine Gislardus, qui amplius quadraginta annorum fertur in ipso servisse loco. 3 Hic cum quadam die summo surrexisset crepusculo, ut boves eiceret in pratum quod est ante ipsum sacrum monasterium ad pascendum, continuo se ubi pervenit in quodam loco conculcans obdormivit. 4 Qui cum post somni quietem surrexisset, omnem comam capitis hac barbam in eodem loco, ubi obdormivit, mox cecidit ut surrexit. 5 Erat enim valde capillatus, ut asserunt qui eum ante viderunt, hac barbam habens prolixam. 6 Mecum enim per triennium habitans, sepissime loquelae eius et aspecti²⁵¹ omnino ubertim fruitus sum²⁵². 7 Alio namque tempore militum turba in eodem causa orationis convenerat loco. 8 Ubi dum

²⁴⁸ propriam r. arvam *T* propria r. arva *T*²

²⁴⁹ *lacuna in T*

²⁵⁰ urbe *T*

²⁵¹ aspectus *T* aspectibus *T*²

²⁵² fruitus sum *T* frui sum visus *T*²

omnes quietem corporis in nocte dedissent, unus ex illis, cui aequi traditi fuerant ad custodiendum, in predictum eos eiciens pratum, ut pastu herbarum reficeret, eos ilico insecutus est. 9 Ubi cum se inclinasset et obdormisset, omnes capilli eius a capite defluerunt. 10 Hisdem²⁵³ namque vir ut surrexit, mox caput eius denudatum apparuit, lucens tamquam quis galeam ferret in capite micantem hac perlucentem. 11 Continuo sodii illius cum vidissent quae evenerat, mirati sunt dicentes: 12 “supra tumbam alicuius sancti obdormisti.” 13 Ipse vero lacrimis totus profusus²⁵⁴, cum maximo dolore et ignominia talia videbatur invitus sustinere. 14 Et quid mirum, si in eodem tanta fiunt miracula loco, in quo multa quondam fuerunt martiria diversa genera celebrata?

EXPLICIT LIBER II

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI TERTII

1. De quodam viro insignissimo atque precipuo nomine Magafredo.
2. De filio eius nomine Frodiono, quem puerum Novaliciensi monastico ordini tradidit erudiendum.
3. Quod idem iuvenis crescendo obedientiae sub abbate pollebat, atque de virtute in virtutibus semper proficiebat.
4. Quod post eiusdem monasterii patris obitum memoratus Frodoinus in loco ipsius sit ordinatus.

²⁵³ hisdem T hidem T^2

²⁵⁴ lacrimis perfusus T lacrimis totus perfusus T^l

5. Quod nemo hominum potest prudentiae²⁵⁵ eius sanctitatis pleniter enarrare.
6. Quod suis temporibus Karolo regi Francorum Dominus per visionem insinuavit, ut ad Italiam suae dicioni properaret subiugandam.
7. Quod Gemino monte ubi primum pertransivit, in Novalicio mox aliquandiu cum exercitu consedit.
8. Ubi omnem sumptum monachorum in cibum cum suis consumpsit.
9. De Desiderio rege Langobardorum, qui omnem²⁵⁶ aditum Italiae illi prohibere voluit.
10. De ioculatore qui ad eum venit, et ei viam se ostensurum sine iacturam²⁵⁷ repromisit.
11. De sancto Frodoino abbate, qui ad eum duos monachos misit, mandans illi, ut in crastinum ante profectionem escam capere dignaretur.
12. De miraculis eiusdem beatissimi Frodoini, et quantam in eum rex ammirationem exinde habuerit.
13. Ubi multa bona pro ammiratione sanctitatis ibi facere predixit.
14. Quod post invasionem Italiae sancto viro cortem quandam regiam nomine Gabianam tradidit.
15. De filio suo Ugone, quem beato viro in monastica professione nutrire rogavit.
16. De cruce, quam idem beatissimus vir in eodem loco fecit, et quibus pignoribus in ea locavit.
17. Quod quadraginta et tribus annis in abbazia sine crimine mansit.
18. De testamentum ipsius loci, quod²⁵⁸ fecit renovari.

²⁵⁵ prudentie *T* prudentiam *T*²

²⁵⁶ omne *T*

²⁵⁷ iacturam *T* iactura *T*²

²⁵⁸ testamentum i. l. quod *T* testamento i. l. quem *T*²

19. De famulos²⁵⁹ ipsius aecclesiae, qui manebant in villa Ociatis, qualiter eos ante regis legatos devicit.
20. De exempla emunitatis Karoli regis atque patricii ad abbatem Frodoinum.
21. De Atteperto monacho.
22. De Carolo imperatore et Algiso regis Desiderii filio.
23. Cur occidere eum Carolus voluit.
24. Qualiter evaserit, et ad Anzam matrem usque pervenerit.
25. De Amblulfo abbate.
26. Quod post Amblulfum Hugo in abbatiam electus sit.
27. De eo quod feliciter eam suis temporibus rexerit.
28. De transitu Caroli imperatoris.
29. Quod hisdem temporibus ortum sit bellum inter quattuor fratres filios Caroli.
30. Quod eo die quo commissum est prelium, diabolus Romanis nuntiavit.
31. De sancti Medardi monasterio.
32. De transitu Hugoni²⁶⁰ abbatis.
33. De Otto²⁶¹ imperatore, qui post multos annos Carolum invisere voluit.

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI TERTII

INCIPIT LIBER TERTIUS

1. 1 Fuit igitur circa haec tempora apud regnum Francorum vir quidam inclitus nomine Magafredus, qui et ipse Francigena extitit, scilicet tempore Pipini ducis eiusdem

²⁵⁹ famulos *T* famulis *T*²

²⁶⁰ hugoni *T* hugonis *T*²

²⁶¹ otto *T* ottone *T*²

prenominate gentis. 2 Hic vero, ut nonnulli tradunt, lineam consanguinitatis ab isis
 regibus Francorum priscis traxisse temporibus; fuit etiam dives in opibus hac
 terrarum fultus ruribus. 3 His quoque diebus Liutprandus rex Langobardorum apud
 Italiam strenue regnabat, qui tantae²⁶² longitudinis fertur pedes habuisse, ut ad
 cubitum humanum metirentur. 4 Horum vero pedum mensura pro consuetudine
 inter²⁶³ Langobardos tenetur in metiendis arvis usque in presentem diem, ita ut pedes
 eius in pertica vel fune 12, fiat tabulam. 5 Erat enim²⁶⁴ pius in pupillis et viduis,
 misericors in iudiciis, largus in aelemosinis pauperum, beneficus et rector Dei²⁶⁵
 ecclesiarum. 6 Huius ergo temporibus apud Forovicum erat sanctus Baodelinus, et in
 episcopio Astensis sanctus preerat Evasius episcopus. 7 Ad hunc vero predictum
 regem Pipinus suum parvulum filium nomine Karolum direxit, ut ei iuxta more ex
 capillis totonderet et fieret ei pater spiritualis. 8 Quod et fecit; nam remisit eum patri
 suo multis honoratus muneribus. 9 Cumque Pipinus ex hoc mundo migrasset,
 regnante Karolo filius²⁶⁶ eius, Sarraceni super eius arvam²⁶⁷ irruentes devastabant
 cuncta. 10 Qui Karolus statim per legatos Liutprando mandans, ut cum Langobardis
 Galliam sibi in adiutorium veniret. 11 Nam coniuncti Franci cum Langobardis et cum
 excomprovincialibus, Sarraceni ab ipsa terra ignominiose eiecerunt. 12 Non multo
 ergo post tempore gloriosus rex Liutprandus defungitur, et in loco eius Desiderius rex

²⁶² tante T

²⁶³ in inter T inter T^2

²⁶⁴ e enim T

²⁶⁵ in dei T dei T^2

²⁶⁶ filius T filio T^2

²⁶⁷ arvam T arva T^l

exaltatur. 13 Huic ergo fuit uxor nomine Anza. 14 Ergo de his nobis dicta sufficiant; succincte ad historiam redeamus.

2. 1 Habuit siquidem idem prenominatus vir inter caeteros filios unum nomine Frodoinum, qui magnae auctoritatis et mirae sanctitatis apud Novaliciense oppido²⁶⁸ legitur fuisse pater. 2 Siquidem cum esset parvulus puerulus, tradidit eum iamnominatus pater abbati Novalicensi coenobio²⁶⁹, qui et ipse illis diebus maximus fulgebat in mundo virtutibus. 3 Putatur enim tunc pater eiusdem monasterii fuisse sanctae memoriae Asenarius abbas. 4 Fuerat siquidem et ipse Francicus²⁷⁰ genere, hac nominatissimus inter proceribus²⁷¹ Francorum. 5 Dedit ergo pater multa terrarum predia eidem filio suo, quem tradidit monastico ordini erudiendum.
3. 1 Nutritus vero idem puer hac eruditus in omni scientia litterarum, sive in cunctis in quibus doceri eum oportuerat, factusque iuvenis, coepit semetipsum in nonnullis bonorum operum exercitiis constringi, atque sapientioribus et sanctionibus senioribus ita oboedientiae et subiectione se humiliabat, ut nullus putaretur in monasterio secundus. 2 Sicque crescens de virtute in virtutibus, cotidie pollebat nonnullis bonis operibus. 3 Quis ergo valet lingua facta illius explicare? 4 Ante ergo, ut opinor, tempus deficeret, lingua tabesceret, mens estuaret, etiamsi tocius corporis membra verterentur in linguas²⁷², nequirent fari virtutes illius, in quibus se die noctuque exercitans, scilicet in vigiliis quibus aliis preveniebat, orationibus peculiariis,

²⁶⁸ noualiciensis oppido *T* noualiciense oppidum *T*²

²⁶⁹ noualiliciensis coenobio *T* noualiciensis coenobii *T*²

²⁷⁰ francus *T* francicus *T*^l

²⁷¹ proceribus *T* procures *T*²

²⁷² linguis *T* linguas *T*^l

maceratione corporis, abstinentia ciborum et potuum, caritate, humilitate, oboedientia, patientia, castitate, mansuetudine, subiectione; et ut ante dixi, dies ante deficerent, quam facta bona operum suorum lingua explicare valeret.

4. 1 Defunctus itaque est seculo almificus pater Asenarius. 2 Cui successit protinus in abbatia²⁷³ vir valde laudabilis domnus Witgarius episcopus. 3 Qui cum obisset, successit post eum²⁷⁴, eius sanctitatem²⁷⁵ sequens gloriosissimus pastor Frodoinus. 4 In huius quoque abbatis electione postulatum est a Domino, quis ex ipsis omnibus dignus esset tanti honoris excipere. 5 Quibus mox divinitus ostensum est, Frodoinum ad hoc esse dignum²⁷⁶. 6 Evenerat igitur illo in loco tali consuetudine antiquis temporibus, ut non aliquis ibi in pastorem eligeretur, defuncto patre, donec cuncti fratres communi consilio unanimesque Dominum per biduanis²⁷⁷ et triduanis abstinentiae die noctuque supplicarent. 7 Sicque a Deo post²⁷⁸ hanc flagitationem digni ad laborem hunc inveniebantur; et ideo quia Dei cum voluntate fiebat, semper bono melior subsequebatur. 8 Haec vero non vidi neque in lectione aliqua repperi, sed auditu didici.
5. 1 Erat preterea in beato Frodoino abbate tanta vigilantia et studia sanctitatis, ut neminem in haec arva abbatum vel episcoporum aut aliquem in studio sanctitatis degentem eius meritis et virtute comparari audeam. 2 Quippe cum nemo hominum

²⁷³ in abbatiam *T*

²⁷⁴ vir valde – post eum *add. T^l*

²⁷⁵ sanctitate *T*

²⁷⁶ dign/// *T*

²⁷⁷ per biduanis *T* biduanis *T²*

²⁷⁸ post post *T* post *T²*

eius prudentiae²⁷⁹ vel sanctitatem nullomodo pleniter possit ennarrari²⁸⁰, cum in finem huius opusculi²⁸¹ sui mirum de eo quippiam et incredibile forsitan dicturus sum.

6. 1 Eo igitur tempore, quo fama istius viri sanctissimi per mundi partes micans refulgebat, Dominus omnipotens per visionem Karolo regi Francorum ostendere dignatus est, ut ad Italiam quantocius properaret suae dicioni subiugandam. 2 Qui protinus convocans vicinas gentes, fecit exercitum copiosum cum manu valida Francorum, ad Italiam disposuit ilico cum suis propere venire.
7. 1 Movens interea idem rex ingentem exercitum suum, pervenitque in montem Geminum, sive ianuam regni Italiae dici potest, in quo olim templum ad honorem cuiusdam Caco deo²⁸², scilicet Iovis, ex quadris lapidibus plumbo et ferro valde connexis, mirae pulchritudinis, quondam constructum fuerat. 2 In eo quoque monte duae²⁸³ consurgunt fontes unus²⁸⁴ ex uno latere montis, alter²⁸⁵ ex alio, sicque in convallibus suis descendentes et paulatim crescentes magna efficiuntur flumina. 3 Una²⁸⁶ vero, cui nomen est Duria, pergens per Italiam semper turbida, paucos ferens

²⁷⁹ prudentię *T* prudentiam *T*²

²⁸⁰ ennarrari *T* ennarrare *T*²

²⁸¹ finem opusculi *T* finem huius opusculi *T*^l finem opusculi *T*²

²⁸² cacodō *T*

²⁸³ duę *T* duo *T*²

²⁸⁴ una *T* unus *T*²

²⁸⁵ alia *T* alter *T*²

²⁸⁶ una *T* unus *T*

pisces, non obmittens suum nomen, donec demergatur²⁸⁷ in Heridanum maximum
 fluviorum²⁸⁸. 4 Alia²⁸⁹ namque discurrit per Galliam provinciam, valde pisciferam et
 claram, usque dum veniatur in Rhodanum fluvium. 5 Cumque de eodem monte
 Karolus descenderet, invenit in descensu ipsius montis turrem quandam, sub qua
 carpebatur via²⁹⁰, in qua manebat latro cum suis latronibus, nomine Ebrardo; qui
 multa mala ibi faciens cum suis, non permittebat aliquem inlesum transire, aut
 depredabantur aut vapulabantur aut interficiebantur; sicque sanguis ibi innoxius nimis
 effundebatur. 6 Hunc ergo latronem obpugnans Karolus devicit coepit et interfecit,
 turremque ipsam destruxit. 7 Exinde vero movens exercitum, pervenit ad
 Novaliciense²⁹¹ monasterium, ubi cum suis diutissime moratus est.

8. 1 Cumque rex cum suis totam vallem Sigusinam occupasset, pervenit ipse, ut supra
 diximus, ad Novaliciensem famosissimum coenobium; ubi tamdiu stetit, donec
 omnem sumptum et escam monachorum in cibum consumeretur²⁹². 2 Non enim ibi
 sine causa morabatur. 3 Erat vero illis diebus hoc coenobium valde opulentissimum
 et rebus ditissimum, et de sanctissimo patre bene fuerat comptum.
9. 1 Ante ergo adventum Karoli audiens Desiderius rex Langobardorum, quod super se
 venturus esset, misit ad universos potentes et magnates regni sui; sciscitat ab eis quid
 facturus esset. 2 Qui respondentes dixerunt, non sibi posse cum modico exercitu

²⁸⁷ demergatur *T* demergitur *T*²

²⁸⁸ fluium *T* fluiuiorum *T*²

²⁸⁹ alia *T* aliter *T*²

²⁹⁰ viam *T* via *T*²

²⁹¹ noualiciensem *T*

²⁹² summeretur *T* consumeret *T*^l

occurrere, qui cum valida manu super se veniebat. 3 “Sed iube,” aiunt, “omnes valles et aditos Italiae, per quos de Gallia ad Italiam transiri potest, muro et calce de monte ad montem claudere, et sic per propugnaculis²⁹³ et turribus²⁹⁴ aditum ipsum prohibere.” 4 Qui ita fecit. 5 Nam usque in presentem diem murium²⁹⁵ fundamenta apparent; quemadmodum faciunt de monte Porcariano usque ad vicum Cabrium, ubi palacium illis diebus ad hoc spectaculum factum fuerat.

10. 1 Dum autem haec a Desiderio facta fuissent, et Franci nullum transitum alicubi repperiri potuissent, veniebat pars exercitus Francorum per dies singulos, plerumque milleni, aliquando duo milia, obpugnabant et obsidebant Langobardos, super eis propugnaculis²⁹⁶ obsistentibus. 2 Erat enim regi Desiderio filius nomine Algisus, a iuventute sua fortis viribus. 3 Hic baculum ferreum aequitando solitus erat ferre tempore hostili, et ab ipso fortiter inimicos percutiendo sterni²⁹⁷. 4 Cum autem hic iuvenis dies et noctes observaret, et Francos quiescere cerneret, subito super ipsos irruens, percutiebat cum suis a dextris et a sinistris maxima caede eos prosternebat. 5 Cum vero haec per dies singulos agerentur, contigit ioculatorem ex Langobardorum²⁹⁸ gente ad Karolum venire, et cantiunculam a se compositam de eadem re rotando in conspectu suorum cantare. 6 Erat enim sensum predictae cantiunculae huiusmodi: 7 “Quod dabitur viro premium, Qui Karolum perduxerit in

²⁹³ propugnaculas *T* propugnaculis *T^l* propugnacula *T²*

²⁹⁴ turribus *T* turres *T²*

²⁹⁵ murium *T* murorum *T²*

²⁹⁶ per propugnaculis *T* propugnaculis *T²*

²⁹⁷ sterni *T* sternere *T²*

²⁹⁸ langobardorum *T* langobardis *T^l*

Italiae regnum. 8 Per quae²⁹⁹ quoque itinera Nulla erit contra se hasta levata, Neque clypeum repperit³⁰⁰, Nec aliquod recipietur ex suis dampnum?” 9 Cumque haec dicta ad aures Karoli pervenissent, accersivit illum a se, et cuncta quae quesivit³⁰¹ dare illi post victoriam repromisit.

11. 1 Karolus ergo mandans suos, mox in crastinum paratissimos esse ad iterandum. 2 Ubi sanctissimus pater Frodoinus hoc comperit, protinus illi duos monachos misit, mandans ut in crastinum ante profectionem escam capere dignaretur. 3 Quibus Karolus respondit, 4 “Ergo iam plurimi evoluti sunt dies, quibus ego cuncta vestra bona cum meis in cibum comsumpsi.” 5 At illi perseveranter instabant, ut iussa sancti viri facere dignaretur. 6 Et ille, “Faciam,” inquit, “quod iubet dominus meus.” 7 Illis vero recedentibus, precepit suis tota nocte vigilare, et explorare fores monasterii, ne de qualicumque parte ibi cibum vel potum³⁰² introduceretur. 8 Sciebat enim, quod nihil cibi vel potus sive aliquid ad edendum in monasterio remansisset. 9 Noverat namque per omnia virum esse sanctum.

12. 1 Ea vero nocte idem pater beatissimus totam duxit pervigilem, rogavitque Dominum cum lacrimis, qui servis suis in montibus et in desertis locis semper ferculis suis ministrare dignatus est, ut sibi misereri dignaretur, prebens alimenta monachis, et qui in deserti regione quinque milia ex quinque panibus et duobus piscibus saviavit hominum, suis saviare dignaretur hospitibus. 2 Cumque his orationibus et aliis huiusmodi tota nocte perorasset, repperit summo mane tanta copia vini et panis in

²⁹⁹ qua *T* quae *T*²

³⁰⁰ clypeum repperit *T* clypeus repperit *T*²

³⁰¹ quesiuit *T* quę quesivit *T*^l

³⁰² cibum v. potum *T* cibus v. potus *T*²

cellario, quanta aliquando ex labore proprio habere potuit. 3 Erant enim omnia
vascula vinaria vino optimo repleta et orreum repletum ipsum. 4 Facta autem die,
summens rex cibum cum suis, sciscitat qualiter vel unde illis ipsum advenisset
cibum? 5 Cui cum cuncta³⁰³ per ordinem relata fuissent³⁰⁴, amirans ergo rex et
clamans sanctitatem huius viri, laudans Deum et glorificans abiit.

13. 1 Promittens ergo interea rex ante suum egressum ibi multa bona facere, propter
ammirationem predicti abbatis et veneratione eiusdem loci coetuque fratrum inibi
degentium, quia multi nobiles carne et nobiliores fide scilicet ex Francorum prosapia
ibi Deo militabantur. 2 Si quis vero episcopum vel abbatem suo loco desiderasset, de
monachis ipsius loci et de discipulis beati Frodoini et de eius doctrina viri
requirebantur. 3 De quibus nonnulli mirae et perfectae sanctitatis in eodem loco
exercebant.

14. 1 Igitur tuba convocatus omnis regis exercitus, ipseque rex abbati et omnium fratrum
orationibus se commendans, deinde valedicens, precedente iamdicto ioculatore coepit
abire. 2 Qui ioculator relinquens omnia itinera, ducebat regem cum suis per
crepidinem cuiusdam montis, in quo usque in hodiernum diem Via Francorum dicitur.
3 Cumque de predicto descendissent monte, devenerunt in planiciem vici, cui nomen
erat Gavensis; ibique se adunantes, struebant aciem contra Desiderium. 4 Desiderius
vero sperans Karolum ante se ad bellum, Karolus autem a dorsa ipsorum de monte
descenso festinabat. 5 At ubi Desiderius talia comperit, ascenso aequo Papiam fugiit.
6 Franci enim diffundentes se huc illucque, capiebant omnia vastantes castella scilicet
et vicos. 7 Tunc accedens iamdictus ioculator ad regem, petiit ut sibi promissum

³⁰³ cui cumque cuncta *T* cui cuncta *T^l*

³⁰⁴ relata sunt *T* relata fuissent *T^l*

daretur, quod ante illi pollicitus fuerat. 8 Tunc ait illi rex, "Postula quod vis." 9 Cui ille, "Ergo ascendam in unum ex his montium, et tubam fortiter personabo corneam, et quantum longe audiri potuerit, dabis mihi in merito et munere cum viris et feminis." 10 Et rex, "Fiat tibi iuxta verba tua." 11 Qui protinus adorans regem abiit, ascendensque in uno monticulo, fecit sicut dixerat. 12 Descendensque ilico ibat per viculos et arvam, interrogans quos inveniebat, 13 "Audisti," inquit, "sonitum tubae?" 14 Cui si dixisset, "Etiam audiui," dabat illi mox colafum, dicens, "Tu," inquit, "es meus servus." 15 Ita ergo dedit illi Karolus, quantum sonitum tubae audiri potuit; atque ita dum vixit tenuit, suique filii post eum; qui usque in presentem diem servi ipsi Transcornati vocantur. 16 Karolus denique capiens Taurinensem civitatem atque cunctas urbes et castra universa. 17 Cumque ad Papiam venisset, erat ibi eo tempore sanctus Theodorus episcopus, qui tunc ibi episcopabat; ob cuius meritis prohibitum est Karolo de coelo, ut dum predictus episcopus viveret in corpore, non esset ab eo capta ipsa civitate; nam ita divinitus Karolo revelatum fuerat. 18 Discedente itaque Karolo ab ea, coepit abire per circuitu eiusdem civitatis, capiens urbes universas, scilicet Eporediensem, Vercellis, Novariam, Placentiam, Mediolanum, Parmam, Tertonam, atque eas quae circa mare sunt, cum suis castellis. 19 Deinde non multo post defungitur ille beatus episcopus. 20 Insinuatum est protinus Karolo, quod ille obisset; qui congregans statim universum exercitum, tendit Papiam, circumdat eam atque obsedit. 21 Ibi autem Desiderius rex fugiens manebat cum Algisio filio suo et filia³⁰⁵. 22 Erat autem Desiderius valde humilis et bonus. 23 Tradunt vero nonnulli, quod cum hisdem Desiderius cotidie media nocte surrexisset et veniret ad aecclesiam sancti Michaelis vel sancti Syri seu per caeteras alias, aperiebantur statim regiae

³⁰⁵ filiam *T*

divinitus ante suo conspectu. 24 Dum ergo Ticinensis civitas diu obsideretur, contigit ut filia Desiderii compositam epistolam ultra Ticini fluvium per balistam Karolo transmisit, dicens, ut si se in coniugium accipere dignaretur, traderet illi continuo civitatem et cunctum thesaurum patris. 25 Ad haec Karolus scripsit talia verba puellae, quae amorem ipsius magis in se incitaretur. 26 Quae statim furando tulit claves portae civitatis, quae erant ad capud lectuli patris; atque mandans per balistam Karolo, ut eadem nocte paratus esset cum suis, cum signum sibi ostenderetur, intraret in civitate. 27 Qui ita fecit. 28 Nam cum Karolus ipsa nocte portae civitatis appropinquans intraret, occurrit illi predicta puella, gaudio ex promissione sublevata; quae statim inter pedes aequorum conculcata atque interfecta est; erat enim nox. 29 Tunc in ipso fremitu aequorum per porta intrantium expergefactus Algisus regis filius, evaginato ense percutiebat omnes Francos intrantes per portam. 30 Cui pater statim interdixit, ne faceret, quia voluntas Dei erat. 31 Videns autem Algisus, quia non poterat tanto exercitui sustinere, fugiens abiit. 32 Karolus vero capiens civitatem, ascendit in palatium, ubi ad eum omnis civitas venit; receptaque sacramenta fidelitatis, abiit. 33 Post modicum denique mandans predictus rex abbati Novaliciensis, scilicet Frodoino, ut ad se veniret; quod et fecit. 34 Nam dedit illi cortem magnam nomine Gabianam, ubi cum appendices suos erant mansas mille, propter reverentiam abbatis, ad ipsum locum Novaliciensem. 35 Dicunt vero nonnulli, quod Karolus rex oculos eruisset Desiderii in Ticinensi civitate, ubi eum cepit.

15. 1 Post denique invasionem Italiae a Karolo facta, pergente eo in Romaniae³⁰⁶ tellus, ubi et imperium et patriciati honorem promeruit, revertente eo, Ugonem filium suum puerulum adduci precepit, quem beato viro Frodoino commendans, rogavit ut in sancta et monastica professione illum nutriret. 2 Qui benigne eum suscipiens aluit et nutrit, ut filio tanti imperatoris decuit. 3 Ob cuius amorem illo in loco multa predia terrarum et thesaurum multum ibi largitus est. 4 Nam sanctos Cosmam et Damianum martyres ibi adducens donavit; sanctum quoque Walericum similiter ibi largitus est, atque aliorum sanctorum pignoribus.

16. 1 Suo igitur tempore beatissimus Frodoinus thesaurum multum ibi faciens congregavit. 2 Cum quo etiam thesauro fecit crucem in eodem loco, auro argentoque necnon gemmis preciosissimis oppido operatam, in qua ferunt nonnulli gloriosissimis pignoribus habere, scilicet ex lacte beatissime Mariae et de capillis suis et de circumcisione Domini. 3 Caeterum quibus patrociniis³⁰⁷ in ea contineantur, facta ipsius demonstrant; nam paralitici curati, caeci inluminati, demones fugati, infirmi sanati, incendia sedata³⁰⁸, furta inventa, sepissime et vidimus et audivimus per merita beatorum pignorum in ea quiescentium et beati Frodoini abbatis.

17. 1 Eo tempore beatus Frodoinus volens testamentum ipsius aecclesiae renovari, quod quondam Abbo patricius de ipsa aecclesia fecerat tempore Theodorici Gothorum regis, misit duos monachos, Agabertum scilicet et Gislarannum, ad Karolum magnum imperatorem, ut sibi suo imperiali praecepto testamentum ipsud renovari concaederet. 2 Qui benigne illi annuens, cuncta quae illi petiit impetrare valuit.

³⁰⁶ italię *T* romanię *T*^l

³⁰⁷ patroniis *T* patrociniis *T*^l

³⁰⁸ sanata *T* saedata *T*^l

18. 1 Erat denique suo tempore villa nomine Otiatis de eodem coenobio, quam quidam homo nomine Dyonisius cum quondam filio suo Hunone beato Petro Novaliciensis ea dedit cum servis et ancillis, pro animae suae mercedem. 2 Hii quoque famuli post multos dies et post mortem suorum dominorum coeperunt contra monachos et contra ministros ipsius aecclesiae insurgere et litigare, dicentes, 3 “Nos neque nostri pertinentes non sumus de vestro monasterio, pro eo quia aviones nostri vobis pertinentes non fuerunt.” 4 Post paucos vero dies advenerunt legati Caroli imperatoris in Italiam, causas ipsorum hominum et aliorum discutiendas; inter quos adfuerunt Raperto comes et Andreas episcopus atque capellanus domni imperatoris; cum quibus etiam interfuerunt multi iudices et scavinis cum sculdaxibus, quorum nomina³⁰⁹ dicere potuissemus, si ad alia gressu concito non tenderemus; et consederunt in civitate Ticinensi. 5 Tunc pater Frodoinus misit duos ex suis, Adam scilicet et Dodone monachos, cum Raimperto advocatus de Felecto ipsius monasterii. 6 Inter quos etiam adfuerunt homines de villa Oziatis, videlicet famulos ipsius monasterii. 7 Et facta reclamatione examinataque causa, sic diffinita est. 8 Post nonnullos vero annos iterum ceperunt predicti homines vexari et eadem verba repetere ut prius, dicentes, contra legem omnino fuissent pignorati et servitio additi humano. 9 Tunc etiam misit Hludowicus rex filius Caroli Boso comes cum suis iudicibus in Taurinensi civitate; inter quos adfuit Claudius episcopus Taurinensis a parte monasterii cum duobus monachis, Agleranno scilicet et Richario prepositis, cum suo advocatus. 10 Tunc pre manibus ostenderunt de predicta villa iudicatos Dionisi atque Hunnoni pater et filius, in quibus continebatur, qualiter ipsos homines cum villa sub ditione sancti Petri Novaliciensis tradidissent. 11 Erat enim tunc pater Eldradus

³⁰⁹ nominae *T* nomina *T*^l

pastor ipsius monasterii. 12 Et convicti sunt homines iamdicti iterum in conspectu illorum omnium comitum iudicum cunctaque convocatio.

19. 1 Vixit autem sanctissimus pater Frodoinus in abbatiam 43 annis sine crimine; quibus decursis, migravit ex orbe 6. Idus Maii, plenus dierum; ordinatus vero in pastoralitate 4. Idus Februarii. 2 Nam in testum quoque evangeliorum, quod Attepertus ex precepto illius sanctissimi patris scripsit, in capite invenimus versus inter alios conscriptos ita: 3 “Questio si lector movet, quis hunc condere librum, Carmina cumque illum saltem nomine nota. 4 Frodoinus qui pridem pastor et inclitus euex Nam per decies quater stabuli custos oviumque est. 5 His super adiectis ternis, sine crimine mansit³¹⁰. 6 Verum Attepertus scripsit ob nomine Christi.”

20. 1 Fuit enim hisdem Attepertus monachus et sacerdos in iam sepe dicto monasterio, scilicet in temporibus almi Frodoini. 2 Hic famulus fuit predictae aecclesiae, tam in scientia litterarum valde imbutus, quamque in recta conscriptione scriptor velocissimus. 3 Siquidem ipse multos et varios ac permaximos libros in eadem aecclesiam suis conscripsit temporibus. 4 Ergo ubicumque sua manu antiquaria libros a se conscriptos inter alios invenimus, extimplo recognoscimus.

21. 1 Quodam igitur tempore, cum cunctum Italiae regnum sub ditione Caroli pacifice subsisteret, ipseque in Ticinensi civitate, quae alio nomine Papia appellatur, resideret, Algisus Desiderii regis filius per semetipsum ausus est quasi explorando accedere, cupiens scire quae agebantur vel dicebantur, ut mos est invidorum. 2 Erat enim ipse a iuventute, ut supra retulimus, fortis viribus animoque audax et bellicosissimus. 3 Qui

³¹⁰ REQUIRE A ... T T

cum in predictam introisset civitatem, agnitus³¹¹ est omnino a nemine. 4 Venerat itaque ibi navigio, non ut regis filius, sed ceu foret de mediocri vulgus modicaque militum turba constipatus. 5 Cumque a nemine militum otius agnosceretur, tandem postremo agnitus est ab uno suo notissimo et patri suo quondam fidelissimo. 6 Eratque tamdiu, quo patrem et regnum amiserat. 7 Qui cum vidisset se omnino ab illo agnosci, et celari non posse, verba deprecatoria coepit illum rogare, ut per sacramentum fidelitatis, quod nuper patri suo et sibi fecerat, regi Carolo suam essentiam non insinualet. 8 Adquievit ille statim et ait, 9 “Per fidem meam, non te prodam alicui, dum celare te potuero.” 10 Ad quem Algisus, “Rogo ergo te o amice, ut hodie ad mensam regis, quando pransurus est, in sumitate unius tabularum colloces me ad sedendum, et omnia ossa quae levatura sunt a mensa, tam carne detecta quamque cum carne de conspectu seniorum vexentium sublata, ante me quaeso ponere studeto.” 11 Qui ait illi, “Faciam ut cupis.” 12 Erat enim ipse, qui cibos regios solito inlaturus erat. 13 Cumque ad expectatum iam venissent prandium, fecit ille omnia, ut dicta fuerant. 14 Algisus vero ita confringebat omnia ossa comedens medullas, quasi leo esurians vorans predam. 15 Fragmenta ergo ossium³¹² iaciens subtus tabulam, fecitque non modicam pyram. 16 Surgens namque inde Algisus, ante alios abiit. 17 At rex cum surrexisset a mensa, perspexit et vidit pyram predictam subtus tabulam, et ait, 18 “Quis,” inquit, “o Deus, hic tanta confregit ossa?” 19 Cumque omnes respondissent se nescire, unus adiecit et ait, 20 “Vidi ego hic militem residere perfortem, qui cuncta cervina ursinaque ac bubina confregebat ossa, quasi quis confringeret cannabina stipula.” 21 Vocatusque est mox ille inlator ciborum ante

³¹¹ ciuitatem et in palat agnitus *T* ciuitatem agnitus *T*^l

³¹² ossuum *T*

regem. 22 Cui ait rex, “Quis vel unde fuit ille miles, qui hic sedit et tanta ossa edens confregit?” 23 Respondit et ait, “Nescio, mi domine.” 24 Et rex, “Per coronam,” inquit, “capitis mei, tu nosti.” 25 Videns autem se deprehensum, timuit ilicoque conticuit. 26 Cum autem rex animo percepisset, quod Algisus fuisset ille, valde doluit, quod ita in punis omisisset illum abire, aitque suis, 27 “Qua,” inquit, “parte abiit?” 28 Ait illi unus, “Navigio ergo, domine, venit, et ita suspicor³¹³ eum abire.” 29 Dixitque regi e suis alter, 30 “Vis,” inquit, “mi domine, ut persequar illum et interficiam?” 31 dixitque illi rex, “Qualiter?” 32 “Da mihi ornamenta brachiorum tuorum, et in ipsa eum tibi decipiam.” 33 Dedit namque³¹⁴ illi rex dextralia aurea, et insecutus est eum, ut interficeret.

22. 1 Cucurrit igitur vir ille post eum per terram citissime, donec invenit. 2 Qui cum vidisset procul, vocavit eum nomine suo. 3 Nam cum respondisset, insinuavit illi, quod Karolus³¹⁵ ei sua dextralia aurea munere transmisisset, culpansque illum, quod ita clam abscessisset; addiditque, ut navem ad ripam prope declinaret. 4 Declinavit ille mox navem. 5 Cum autem prope esset, vidissetque munusculum predictum in summitate lanceae sibi porrigi, intellexit statim malum sibi imminere. 6 Statimque iectam in dorso lorica arripiensque lanceam ait, 7 “Si tu cum lancea mihi ea porrigis, et ego ea cum lancea excipio. 8 Caeterum si dominus tuus mihi in dolo misit munera, ut me interficeres, nec ego illi inferiorem debeo apparere. 9 Mittam ergo illi mea.” 10 Dedit ergo illi sua, ut Carolo quasi in talionem afferret; et reversus est ilico ille; fefellerat enim sibi suspicio sua. 11 Ergo cum Carolo optulisset dextralia Algisi,

³¹³ suspico *T*

³¹⁴ dedit illi *T* dedit namque illi *T'*

³¹⁵ carolus *T*

induit illam sibi statim; quae cucurrerunt illi mox³¹⁶ usque ad humeros. 12

Exclamans vero Carolus dixit, 13 “Non est hutique mirandum, si iste vir maximas abeat vires.” 14 Timebat autem semper idem rex Algisum, eo quod sibi et patri regno privaverat; et quod viribus laudibilis esset heros, propterea ad interficiendum illum miserat.

23. 1 Pervenit itaque Algisus, cum evasisset permaximum periculum, ad matrem suam Anzam reginam, quae tunc in partibus illis advenerat ob orationis causam, scilicet in Brixienti civitate, ubi oratorium sanctorum Faustini et Iovittae miro opere construxerat, multaque rura largiens ditissimum fecit monasterium. 2 Nam ipsa nuperrime, multo donato pretio, sanctam Iuliam virginem ibi a Corsica³¹⁷ adduci fecit insula. 3 Ergo quia iam longe narrando discesseramus, nunc succincte ad istoriam redeamus.

24. 1 Defuncto interea seculo beatus pater Frodoinus, ut supra retulimus, domnum et religiosum Amblulfum monachum in regimine ipsius surrexit aecclesiae. 2 Venerat ipse siquidem in monasterio temporibus domni Witgarii episcopi atque abbatis. 3 Hic ex nobilibus ortus fuit parentibus, et ab pueritiae suae traditus Deo et beato Petro apostolo in Novalegiensi coenobio sub testimonio bonorum hominum, devotus pater devotissime eum offerre curavit. 4 Nam in illa quoque offersione sic invenimus continere, 5 “Dum legaliter sanctitum antiquitus teneatur et cautum, cum oblationibus Domino parentes suos tradere filios, in templo feliciter servituros, procul dubio hoc de nostris filiis faciendum nobis salubriter prebetur exemplum. 6 Aequum etenim iudico, Creatori nostro de nobis reddere fructum. 7 Idcirco ego Widilo hunc filium

³¹⁶ cucurrerunt mox *T* cucurrerunt illi mox *T*^j

³¹⁷ ascorsica *T* a corsica *T*^j

meum Amblulfum, cum oblatione in manu atque petitione altaris pallam manu mea involuta, ad nomen sancti Petri et sancti Andreae ceterorumque³¹⁸ sanctorum, quorum reliquiae hic continentur, et tibi Warnari presenti decano, ad vicem³¹⁹ domini Witgari episcopi seu et Richarii prepositi, trado coram testibus regulariter permansurum, ita ut ab hac die non liceat illi collum desub iugo regulae exscutere, sed magis eiusdem regulae fideliter se cognoscat instituta servare et domino gratanti animo militare. 8 Et ut haec nostra traditio inconvulsa permaneat, promitto cum iureiurando coram Deo et angelis eius, quia nunquam per me, numquam per suspectam personam, nec quolibet modo per rerum mearum facultates aliquando egrediendi de monasterio tribuam occasionem. 9 Et ut haec petitio firma permaneat, manu mea eam subter firmavi.”

25. 1 Cum autem hic sancte et religiose vivere in presenti studuisset seculo, post aliquantos annos sarcinam carnis abiiciens, feliciter...³²⁰ migravit ad Deum. 2 In cuius loco protinus ad regendam Novaliciensis aecclesiam domnum et sanctum promoverunt fratres Hugonem, Karoli Magni filium. 3 Ob istius quippe Hugonis amorem, sicut supra in sua oblatione descripsimus, multa et carissima sanctorum corpora cum variis vasculis aureis argenteisque ibi pater eius Karolus largitus est. 4 Ibi quoque cortes in Italia seu in regno Francorum atque Burgundionum tradidit³²¹, tam pro filio quamque pro amore almi sui magistri, videlicet Frodoini, cuius certe vita et exempla imitatus est.

³¹⁸ ceterorumue *T*

³¹⁹ uice *T*

³²⁰ lacuna in *T*

³²¹ francorum tradidit *T* francorum atque burgundionum tradidit *T*^d

26. 1 Dominavit namque abbatiam Novaliciensis suis temporibus felix ipse feliciter ac prudenter. 2 Hic ergo tales abuit adiutores et amatores, quales fuerunt reges Italiae atque Franciae, Karolum scilicet patrem suum et Hludowicum fratrem suum atque Lotharium nepotem suum, ac alios post istos sequentes. 3 Carolus ergo dedit in predicto coenobio, scilicet in Mauriensis episcopo, duas cortes Arva et Liana, et in Italia cortem³²² Gabianam nomine; in qua corte cum appendices suos mille mansas numerantur. 4 Hludowicus namque eidem cum patre Karolo auxit³²³ vallem Bardoniscam cum castro Bardino³²⁴. 5 Lotharius vero de eadem valle abbati Ioseph preceptum faciens, et insuper adcrevit³²⁵ Pagnum, quondam ditissimum et regalem monasterium, quod olim Aystulfus rex ambidexter condiderat. 6 Horum ergo precepta regum ex his supradictis curtibus et aliis in hodiernum usque in eodem monasterio conservantur diem.
27. 1 Hoc siquidem tempore³²⁶ Karolus rex Francorum atque imperator et patricius Romanorum, postquam 76 annis vitae vixerat in seculo, migravit ex hoc orbe 5. Kal. Februarii; nam regna tenens ipse dum vixit 46 annis feliciter, iam ab incarnatione Domini anni evoluti octo centies et quattuordecim. 2 Sic enim in suo epythafio legitur: 3 “Aurea coelorum postquam de Virgine Christus Sumpserat apta sibi mundi pro crimine membra, Iam decimus quartus post centies octo volabat Annus, fluctivagi

³²² coenobio cortem *T* coenobio scilicet – italia cortem *T*^l

³²³ eidem auxit *T* eidem cum patre Karolo auxit *T*^l

³²⁴ bardonisscam *T* bardonisscam cum castro bardino *T*^l

³²⁵ uero adcreuit *T* uero de – insuper adcreuit *T*^l

³²⁶ tempore siquidem *T* siquidem tempore *T*^l

meruit quo fervida secli Aetherei Carolus³²⁷, Francorum gloria gentis, Aequora transire et placidum comprehendere portum. 4 Qui deciesque quater per sex feliciter annos Sceptra tenens regni et regno rex regna et iungens, Febro migravit quinto arii ex orbe Kalendas. 5 Septuaginta sex vitae qui terminat annos. 6 Quapropter³²⁸ flagito, precibus si flecteris ullis, Quique huius relegis lector epygramata versus, 7 ‘Astriferam Caroli teneat’ dic ‘spriritus arcem³²⁹.’” 8 Ad huius ergo Caroli funus affuisse dicunt filii eius, Hugo scilicet abba cum reliquis fratribus.

28. 1 Circa igitur haec tempora, cum non inter se aequaliter divisissent filii Caroli regna patris sui, ortum ilico bellum inter eos. 2 Nam in campo quodam, ubi fontes nonnulli oriuntur, unde et nomen accepit videlicet Fontaneto, ibi quoque conglobati quattuor reges cum chuneis suis fortiter invicem dimicarunt; ubi occisa nonnulla milia hominum, non modicam ibi stragem dederunt. 3 Qui licet multi ex utraque parte occubuerint, constat tamen Hludowicus cum Lothari filio, superatis fratribus, campum optinuisse cum victoria. 4 Sicque victores effecti, regnum Italicum potiti sunt.

29. 1 Eodem itaque die diabolus insidiator humani generis, qui haec inter eos perpetrari fecerat, Romanis hoc bellum nuntiavit. 2 Ergo consedit ipse in excelsioribus fenestris aecclesiae beati Petri, dum canonici pleniter offitium misse agerentur, retulit illis magna voce, quod Karolus iunior et Pipinus, Lotharius et Hludowicus reges in iamdicto campo prelia agebantur. 3 Qui notantes diem et oram, ita invenerunt ut diabolus illis insinuaverat.

³²⁷ caro carolus *T*

³²⁸ quapapa *T*

³²⁹ arcam *T*

30. 1 Erat preterea in arva Francorum monasterium quoddam ditissimum, in honore sancti Medardi confessoris fundatum, quod nuper Karolus ob amorem filii sui Hugonis, quem oppido videbat incrementu sanctae religionis et sanctitatis ubertim excrescere et ad exemplum beati viri Frodoini magistri sui de die in diem proficere, auxit, ut dicunt, ipsud monasterium Novalicio³³⁰, ubi ipse preerat pater. 2 Cantantur denique antiphone de predicto confessore bene composite per abbatiam Novaliciensis, quae per nulla alia monasteria cantari videntur, maxime infra regnum Italiae. 3 Nam incomparabilem thesaurum et precipuum honorem ab ipsis regibus Francorum quondam prenominatae abbatae audivimus et vidimus conlatum.
31. 1 Post paucos vero annos idem vir venerabilis Hugo, cum quadam die secundum morem³³¹ abbatae suae cellas causa providentiae et amonitionis circuiret, devenit in Frantie tellus, ubi multae cellae erant sub ditione Novaliciensis coenobii erecte. 2 Quas cum ex parte requisisset, consedit mox in prefato monasterio videlicet sancti Medardi confessoris. 3 In quo cum aliquantis³³² commoratus esset diebus, infirmitate corporis tactus egrotare cepit; de qua aegritudine ad necem usque perductus, obiit illic Idus Iunii, per omnia felicissimus, ibique sacrum eius corpus honorifice quiescit humatus. 4 Erat enim sapientia et sanctitate precipuus, elemosinis largus, pietate laudabilis, corpore castus, mente devotus, animo vigil, pulcritudine corporis valde decoratus, sicut prole tanti decebat imperatoris. 5 Post multos itaque annos retulit nobis abbas ille de Sancto Medardo, quod prephatus Hugo abbas apud ipsos multis virtutibus et miraculis per eum Dominus illo in loco operatus sit, et quanta

³³⁰ Noualio *T* Noualitio *T*^{*l*}

³³¹ more *T*

³³² aliquantos *T* aliquantis *T*^{*l*}

veneratione ab incolis loci haberetur. 6 Hoc quoque defuncto, excellentissimus pater Eldradus in abbatia preficitur. 7 Huius itaque patris vitam nostris temporibus, quantumcumque ex suis miraculis atque virtutibus colligere potuimus tam visis quam auditis lectisve, quibus per eum Dominus operare dignatus est, devotissime in eius laudibus simul scribere curavimus.

32. 1 Post multa itaque annorum curricula tertius Otto imperator veniens in regionem, ubi Caroli caro iure tumultata quiescebat, declinavit utique ad locum sepulture illius cum duobus episcopis et Ottone comite Laumellensi; ipse vero imperator fuit quartus. 2 Narrabat autem idem comes hoc modo dicens, 3 “Intravimus ergo ad Karolum. 4 Non enim iacebat, ut mos est aliorum defunctorum corpora, sed in quandam cathedram ceu vivus residebat. 5 Coronam auream erat coronatus, sceptrum cum mantonibus indutis tenens in manibus, a quibus iam ipse ungule perforando processerant. 6 Erat autem supra se tugurium ex calce et marmoribus valde compositum. 7 Quod ubi ad eum venimus, protinus in eum foramen frangendo fecimus³³³. 8 At ubi ad eum ingressi sumus, odorem permaximum sentivimus. 9 Adoravimus ergo eum statim³³⁴ poplitibus flexis ac ienua; statimque Otto imperator albis eum vestimentis induit, ungulasque incidit, et omnia deficientia circa eum reparavit. 10 Nil vero ex artibus suis putrescendo adhuc defecerat, sed de sumitate nasui sui parum minus erat; quam ex auro ilico fecit restitui, abstraensque ab illius hore dentem unum, reaedificato tuguriolo abiit.

EXPLICIT LIBER TERTIUS

³³³ frangendo fecimus foramen *T* foramen frangendo fecimus *T*^l

³³⁴ ergo statim *T* ergo eum statim *T*^l

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI IV

1. De sanctissimo Eldrado abbate ipsius loci, unde oriundus extitit.
2. Quod suis temporibus rex Lotharius regalem quondam monasterium Novaliciensis tradiderit.
3. De campanile in ipso monasterio ab ipso edificato.
4. Epistola sancti Elderadi ad Florum directa.
5. Rescriptum Flori ad beatum Elderadum.
6. Item Florus ad eundem abbatem.
7. De quodam puero monacho, ab eius tumba humerum cuiusdam ferentem sancti.
8. De venatoribus quodam ab antro suo repulsis.
9. De bubis atque caballis, quos ab infirmitate liberavit vel liberat.
10. De me etiam, quem liberavit a dolore dentium.
11. De quodam aequo sibi promisso, qualiter a morte liberavit.
12. De revelatione, quomodo se cuidam homini in ipsa valle commanente insinuavit.
13. De mortalitate hominum ab ipso sedata.
14. De ceco ab eo inluminato.
15. De muto, cuius vinculum lingue coram multis absolvit.
16. De quindecim paralitici, qui in suo nomine sunt curati.
17. De muliere aegra in civitate Astensi liberata.
- [18]³³⁵ De successionibus abbatum Novaliciensis coenobii.
- [19] De epistola ammonicionis missa fratribus in solario morantibus.
- [20] De episcopo atque abbate Ioseph.

³³⁵ *Bracketed numbers do not appear in T.*

[21] De Erigario nobili viro, qui curtem suam Veseneribus cum uxore Lea beato Petro Novaliciensis tradidit.

[22] Quod istis temporibus maxima pars paganorum navium vehiculis mare transfretantes, Fraxenetum ad habitandum ingressi sunt.

[23] Quod de eodem loco per diversis provinciis discurrentes depredabant omnia.

[24] Quod de eorum metu nimis pavidus abbas Domnivertus Taurinensis fugiit cum suis.

[25] De thesauro multo ipsius Novaliciensis aecclesiae.

[26] De predictis paganis, qui post discessum monachorum in ipso statim irruere coenobio.

[27] Ubi multa bona in quodam puteo mittentes absconderunt.

[28] De duobus senibus atque monachis³³⁶.

[29] Quod ab armentariis³³⁷ et vervicariis ipsius monasterii post discessum paganorum ipsi monachi duo sint interfecti.

[30] De thesauro predicto in civitate Taurinensi commendato, et minime postea recuperato.

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI IV

INCIPIT LIBER QUARTUS

[7. 1 Pater sanctus Eldradus exhalat animam; qui sepultus intra coenobium, infra thecam pausat dignissimam.]

³³⁶ *del. T^l*

³³⁷ *a uacariis T ab armentariis T^l*

[18. 1 Ergo Valchinus archiepiscopus Ebredunensis primus noster adiutor et fundator fuit, avunculus Abbonis. 2 Post Godo, post Abbo alius abbas, tum Ioseph, tum Ingellelmus, Gislaldus, Asinarius, Vitgarius episcopus, Frodoinus, Amplulfus, Ugo, Eldradus, Bonifacius, Richarius, Heirardus, Ioseph, Conibertus, Petrus, Garibertus, Georgius, Domnivertus, Belegrimus, Romaldus, Ioseph, Gezon, Gotefredus, Odilo, Eldradus, Benedictus, trigesimus Adregondus.]

[20. 1 Et tunc Ioseph episcopus Eporediensis accessit Novalesii, et monachus factus, et factus abbas sub Lodovico rege, filio Lotharii, qui castrum Bardinum cum valle dedit Iosepho.]

[21. 1 Herigario huic contulit coenobio et Lea uxor montem Vesenium ... Tempore Heirardi abbatis erat Mainfredus comes palatii ...]

[22. 1 Circa haec tempora maxima pars Sarracenorum mare navium vehiculis transfretantes, ingressi sunt Fraxinetum ad habitandum; ubi plurimos annos commorantes, inexpugnabilem reddiderunt. 2 Erat enim circumseptus nemore perdenso, maxime silvarum plurimarum ... 3 Est autem locus ipse situs super ora maris, in Provincia prope Arelatem.]

[23. 1 Morantibus interea eisdem Sarracenis in eadem arva, discurrebant huc illucque, depredantes et vastantes cunctas provincias quae in circuitu suo fuerant, scilicet Burgundiam, Italiam, et caeteras quae proximiores videbantur.]

[24. 1 Audiens itaque Domnivertus abbas profanissimam famam eorum, qui tunc sanctae Novaliciensi preerat aecclesiae, nimis pavidus de eorum metu factus, Taurinensi civitate fugere malo suo et nostro curavit cum suis. 2 Erat autem aecclesia in prefata civitate in honore sancti Andreae et sancti Clementis dedicata, ubi hodie dicitur Sanctum

Benedictum, scilicet ad portam Sigusinam, quae longe ante pertinens fuerat de ipsa Novaliciensi abbazia. 3 Ibi praefatus abbas mox ut venit, cum suis consedit. 4 Fateor in veritate, melius illi fuisset et omnibus monachis, ut valide in loco consisterent, et colla sua ferro pro Dei amore submittere non formidarent, ut per presentem mortem omne territorium abbatae cum cuncta suppellectili locum contaminatum reservatumque foret, quam sic evasisse et omnia perdidisse. 5 Heu, heu! tunc amisit sanctissima mater nostra Novaliciensis ecclesia omnem honorem suum, insuper et dominatum suarum omnium aecclesiarum]

[26. 1 Ob inundationem Sarracenorum ex Fraxeneto, qui in monte silvis permaximis circumdato inextricabilibus subterraneis cuniculis inhabitabant, devastata Provincia Arelatensi, Burgundia, Cimella, totam quoque Galliam Subalpinam sanguine et incendio submerserunt, effugerunt monachi ex Novaliciensi monasterio, et pretiosiora queque Taurinum asportaverunt in templum sancti Andreae. 2 Et inter cetera delati sunt libri sex mille.]

26. 1 Discedentibus denique monachis ab ipso coenobio, statim dirissima gens Sarracenorum occupavere locum. 2 Qui ilico depraedantes universa quae invenire poterant, concremaverunt omnes aecclesias ac domos universas. 3 Invenerunt siquidem ibi duos senes monachos, qui illic ob custodiam ecclesiarum domorumque relictos fuerant; quos arripientes, ad necem usque vulnerantes vapulaverunt]

[30. 1 Veniente ergo abbate Domniverto cum monachis suis et cum cuncta suppellectile et thesaurum enormem in civitate Taurinensi, ibique monasterium aedificantes consederunt. 2 Erat autem tunc in episcopio Taurinensi episcopus, nomine Wilielmus, sub cuius dominio erat prepositus nomine Riculfus. 3 Hic notissimus satis et amicus

valde fuerat monachorum suprataxatorum. 4 Qui venientes in iamdictam civitatem, non habebant domos, ubi tantos libros et tantum thesaurum custodire quivissent. 5 Commendaverunt ergo ipsi monachi ipsum thesaurum Riculfo preposito, et aliquid ex ipso thesauro inpignoraverunt, accipientes annonam, sicuti mos est advenarum qui in loco non serunt. 6 Perturbata vero terra propter metum Saracenorum, fugientibus monachis – alii namque ... nonnulli mortui – defungitur et ille Riculfus, periitque inpigneratum ut accommodatum. 7 Sicque remansit pars maxima thesauri cum aecclesiasticis libris accommodati, nec postea recuperati. 8 Hoc tempore in Taurinensi civitate translatio facta est sancti Secundi martyris infra civitatem, qui fuit dux Thebeorum legionis, facta a domno Wiliemo episcopo anno incarnationis dominicae 906. 9 Hic composuit passionem sancti Solutoris cum tribus responsoriis; et ab apostolico Romanae sedis et cunctorum episcoporum qui in sancta synodo convenerant, tribus annis ob poenitentiae causam ab episcopatu suspensus est.]

[EXPLICIT LIBER QUARTUS]

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI QUINTI

[1] De duobus Saracenis, qui ignem iactaverunt.

[2] De Domniverto abbate.

[3] De rege Hugone ac filio eius Lothario.

[4] De Alberto marchione, patre Berengarii regis.

[5] De mutatione eiusdem monasterii.

[6] De Belegriano abbate.

- [7] De quodam milite Rogerius nomine.
- [8] De Berengario rege ac filio eius Adalberto.
- [9] De genealogia auctoris huius libri.
- [10] De Adelaide regina uxore regis Lotharii.
- [11] De Canusino castro, in quo obsessa fuit.
- [12] De Otthone duce Baioariorum, qualiter Papiam venit et imperium sumpsit.
- [13] De lupariis regis.
- [14] De mercuriorum fratrum Arlandi et Garlandi, et quomodo Albertus marchio
Bremetum vicum acquisivit, quomodo monasterium et caput abbatis ibi statuit.
- [15] De Romaldo abbate.
- [16] De quodam Saraceno nomine Aimone.
- [17] Quod alii Saraceni ab isto de Fraxeneto expulsi et interfecti sunt.
- [18] De Ardoino predicto, quomodo vallem Segusinam beato Petro sustulit.
- [19] De praecepto quod Arduinus marchio clam acquisivit de nostra abbatis a rege
Lothario.
- [20] De abbate Belegrimmo, qui epistolam de eodem Ardoino transmisit ad Iohannem
papam.
- [21] De sene monacho et visione eius.
- [22] De praedicto praecepto, quod ab imperatore Ottone in igne sic iactato coram
omnibus interventu reginae Adelaide, et ab alio, abbati impetrato.
- [23] De Sansone comite, qui sanctimonialem habitum in eodem monasterio sumpsit et
cortem nomine Canobium ibi dedit.

[24] De aliis duobus comitibus, Rogero scilicet et Oberto, qui ibi sumpserunt habitum religionis.

[25] De sancto Benedicto patre nostro, qui ibi cuidam fratri per matutinum apparuit.

[26] De Iohanne abbate, atque de Gezone prudenti et humili viro.

[27] De Bruningo monacho.

[28] De Uberto praeposito.

[29] De alio sancto viro.

[30] De Widone episcopo Albensis ecclesiae.

[31] De Odone marchione, qui dedit sancto Petro Pollentiam cum aliis cortis suis.

[32] De quodam viro circumdatus ferro, quem abbas Gezo absolvit.

[33] De morte Widonis marchionis, quam beatus Petrus illi insinuavit.

[34] De Leone episcopo Vercellensi.

[35] De sanctis Silvestro atque Frontiniano martyribus, quos ipse Gezo ab Alba duxit civitate.

[36] De sanctis Aso et Esagiola martyribus.

[37] De sancto Valerico abbate et confessore.

[38] De quodam homine impiissimo nomine Gontranno.

[39] De Gezone abbate, domnum Gotefredum subitus se ordinavit.

[40] Quod ipse valde timens Dominum fuerit.

[41] De quodam monacho, qui ei³³⁸ una die alapam dedit.

[42] De alio monacho Stabilis nomine.

[43] De abbate Gotefredo, qui longe post mortem suam cuidam fratri fugienti apparuit.

[44] De latrone qui in vico Novaliciensis furtum faciebat.

³³⁸ eum T ei T^2

- [45] De lupo qui ex eadem villam puerum deportavit et minime comedit.
- [46] De vacario eiusdem ecclesiae, qualiter eum beatus Petrus liberavit a serpente.
- [47] De luctu et planctu demonum.
- [48] De diabolo, qui in similitudinem ioculatoris cuidam fratri apparuit.
- [49] De quodam sancto, qui in similitudinem pastoris ferulam gestabat, qui ibi cuidam fratri apparuit.
- [50] De mansionario eiusdem ecclesiae.

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI QUINTI

INCIPIT LIBER QUINTUS

1. 1 Tempore illo quo capti fuerant Sarraceni ex Frasceneto villa, duo eorum constricti tenebantur nodis in civitate Taurini ab Arduino, quorum seva rabies iam pene fedaverat orbem. 2 Erat in eadem erectum castrum, ante cuius foras monasterium habebatur dedicatum in honorem sanctorum Andreae Clementisque. 3 Videntes igitur Sarraceni domum Dei...eti referr.....castro.....cogitare qualiter.....se vo.....liberarent.....suasione accendunt ecclesi.....s aedes sacrae vaporant flammis.....haec vexatrix hominum pestis antiqua tales fecit...homines ut quos dederis precipites in mundo.....eq.....feciss.....commercium. 4 Consumatur ergo domus Dei, ceteri mox fugam petunt. 5 Factum est autem dum fugerent, ilico a praesidente violenter capiuntur, crucisque post subiere martyrium. 6 Ibi vero opes multas amissimus, testamenta, verum etiam libros, qui moderno in tempore monstrantur semiusti.

2. 1 De Domniverto abbate, qui illo erat, aliqua optamus nunc dicere, ut coeptus ordo non omittatur. 2 Nil tamen boni dicere de eo quimus; sed tamen ubi presentem amiserit vitam quoque loco humatus sit, referre habemus. 3 Hic vero persecutionem barbarorum fugiens, a monasterio Novelucis Taurinum veniens, in prelibato monasterio sarcinam deposuit carnis. 4 Ex eo quod de eo memoriae tradatur non habemus; tantum ob id reminiscitur cum culpa, quod res sanctae aecclesiae post cessatas persecutiones non exquirat, nec per se nec per alium quemquam. 5 Vixit autem in regimine abbatiali 41 annum. 6 Circa hec tempora Rodulfus rex regnavit apud Italos.
3. 1 Non est nobis ignaviter accipiendum de Ugone callidissimo, qui iussu suo labefactat regnum Italiae. 2 Is ortus est in finibus Viennensis, imperavitque³³⁹ regno Italiae. 3 Hic denique mittens auriculares et praecones, qui lustrarent civitates et castellas, ne homines inconsulto loquerentur de eo, tantus namque pavor invasit cunctos, ut minime auderent loqui palam de eo, sed more scurrarum per calamos fossos³⁴⁰ ad invicem loquentes, sic insidias parabant ei. 4 Ipse autem rex genuit filium, vocavitque eum Lotharium³⁴¹; qui convalescens ad iuvenilem pervenit aetatem. 5 Gaudet quippe pater de semine necis; coniugem suadet accipere. 6 Iste namque obtemperans monitis patris, coniugem accepit³⁴². 7 Pater vero post dotem, succensus face luxuriae, nurum viciat, antequam ad filii perveniat thalamum. 8 O nefas! libido sodomita inrepat patres, ut stuprum exerceant in nurus et etiam in filias, ut in acta

³³⁹ imperavit *T* imperavitque *T*^l

³⁴⁰ calamos *T* calamos fossos *T*^l

³⁴¹ nomenque indidit lotharii *T* uocavitque eum lotharium *T*²

³⁴² accipit *T* accepit *T*²

legitur Apollonii. 9 Sed divina pietas inultos habire non permittit³⁴³. 10 Illum
namque fulmine percutit, ab ea celitus missum. 11 Hic post perpetracionem vicii,
vorticem subivit tetri vadi³⁴⁴; morte namque prereptus, congrue funditus³⁴⁵ amisit
vitam. 12 Cuius filius succedens in regnum, tenuit Italiam. 13 Putrida igitur radix
ortus ex spinis, ledens omnia, et quae laedere non valens conculcabat³⁴⁶ pedibus, per
viam nocentiae pertulit passus. 14 Hic dum aliquando de Papia veniret Taurinum
cum uxore sua, feria 4, quae est 13. die mensis Novembris, preceptum dedit Arduino
marchioni abbaciae Bremensis. 15 Qui non post multum tempus mortuus est
transacto vix spacio³⁴⁷ unius mensis, feria 6, quae est 10. Kalendas Decembris, et
Mediolanum vectus, ibique tumulatur in sepulchro sui genitoris.

4. 1 Post mortem horum regum regnavit Berengarius³⁴⁸ cum filio suo Adelberto. 2 Die
dominica, quae est 15. die mensis, in civitate Papiæ³⁴⁹ ad absidam sancti Michaelis
sic electi sunt reges, ut preessent Italiae. 3 Qui inde exientes laureati cum³⁵⁰ Willa
uxore ipsius Berengarii³⁵¹, indicione nona.

³⁴³ habire permittit *T* habire non permittit *T*^l

³⁴⁴ subiuit uadum *T* subiuit uadi *T*² subiuit tetri uadi *T*²

³⁴⁵ prereptus funditus *T* prereptus congrue funditus *T*²

³⁴⁶ conculcabat *T* conculcat *T*²

³⁴⁷ Transacto spacio *T* Transacto uix spacio *T*^l

³⁴⁸ belegrimmus *T* berengarius *T*^l

³⁴⁹ papię *T* papia *T*²

³⁵⁰ exientes comiti cum *T* exientes laureati comiti cum *T*²

³⁵¹ uxore berengarii *T* uxore ipsius berengarii *T*^l

5. 1 Huius temporibus quidam vir extitit, clarus genere sed clarior fide, nomine Albertus marchio, pater huius Berengarii ut aiunt³⁵². 2 Hic dum videret loca nostra diruta a paganis, et monachos perire egestate, tribuit ecclesiam consecratam in honorem sancti Andreae cum porta commitale, secus murum civitatis, ubi Deo opitulante monachi divinum exercent opus.
6. 1 In eodem loco quem supra nominavimus, erat quidam abbas Belegrimmus nomine, humilis et bene educatus, eruditus pericia litterarum, et ut aiunt multi, auctor³⁵³ extitit hymni “Omnipotentis Dei et Genitoris,” qui more congruo per universa loca habetica Bremetense oppido³⁵⁴ Dei in honorem modulatur in assumptione sanctae Mariae. 2 Hic videns, negocium divinum nullomodo misceri posset seculari³⁵⁵, mutat monasterium quod constructum fuerat ante castrum, ad ecclesiam secus murum civitatis sitam ad portam commitalem.
7. 1 Idem igitur domnus Belegrimmus, non satis cautus his quae secularibus sunt, scientia litterarum sciolus, sed ignarus omnium quae huius saeculi sunt, quamvis foret nobilis secundum saeculi putredinem, tamen omnia queque illi apponebantur in mensa edebat, non interrogans quomodo aut qualiter ei collata essent. 2 Unde servi dolo capti, bona non tradebant largienda, sed incocta quando³⁵⁶ sibi bona reservabant³⁵⁷. 3 Is igitur post 19 annos vitam amisit labentis saeculi.

³⁵² pater – aiunt *T*²

³⁵³ ut aiunt auctor *T* ut aiunt multi auctor *T*^l ut aiunt multi quod // auctor *T*²

³⁵⁴ bremetense oppido *T* bremetensis oppidi *T*²

³⁵⁵ cumulari *T* seculari *T*^l

³⁵⁶ quin *T*

³⁵⁷ quaeque illi...reservabant *in ras.* *T*^l

8. 1 Itaque dum reteximus³⁵⁸ acta vel gesta regum, dignum est, ut de vassis loquamur. 2 Arduini scilicet infelicem prolem³⁵⁹ satagimus dicere. 3 Antiquorum igitur sermo narrat, quia fuerunt duo fratres, Rogerius et Arduinus, et unus eorum cliens nomine Alineus. 4 Hii ergo prodigi et exuti omnibus rebus, ad Italiam veniunt de sterilibus montibus. 5 Subeunt colla nobilibus; divites in proximo existunt. 6 Ipsi vero sibimet spondunt, si quis eorum alcior insurgeret, ceteri adiutores et servitores essent illius numinis. 7 O scelus! Dei inprovisa sunt iudicia, et homines ante spondunt honores quam adquirant; sed cupida mens aliquando quod optat, in consequenti tempore occupat. 8 Dum ita sermocinarentur, Rogerius, avidus mortali honore, eripit Aureatem comitatum. 9 Tunc quidam comes erat, cui potestas concessa erat illius comitatus, Rodulfus nomine. 10 Aliter sollers Arduinus non valens tenere comitatum illum, manibus vi nexis militem fit Rodulfi. 11 Ipse denique Rodulfus, iam fessus longa senectute, Rogerium ad se vocat semotis cunctis, 12 “Vides me; creber in malis curias³⁶⁰ regales iam lustrare non sufficio; mitto te ad eum, ut consideres quae facienda sunt.” 13 Ille autem non surdus auditor, mox complet dictum iubentis domini, et celeri cursu³⁶¹ ad Papiam venit civitatem. 14 Rex namque illic manebat. 15 Ubi autem venit ad regem, salutat eum dulcibus verbis. 16 Condescendente ei rege, gratiam spopondit habere largissimam, si obsequium illius frequentaret innocue. 17 Qui moratus³⁶² aliquantulum cum rege, post non multos dies ad seniore suum

³⁵⁸ rexemus *T* reteximus *T^l*

³⁵⁹ Arduina infelix proles *T* Arduini scilicet infelicem prolem *T^l*

³⁶⁰ edes *T* curias *T^l*

³⁶¹ celer cursus *T* celeri cursu *T²*

³⁶² moratur *T*

revertitur³⁶³. 18 Vidensque senior, quod prudenter egisset³⁶⁴, vicinius ad se eum clamans, inquit, 19 “Post mortem quippe meam senior totius terrae eris, quam cognosco me pridem habuisse!” et iterum eum ornans diversis monilibus, ad regem mittit. 20 Qui acquirit comitatum illius, et rex illi donat interveniente regina; et ipse comes interim mortuus, uxorem illius Rogerius accepit, et sic arripit potestatem illius terrae. 21 De qua genuit filios duos, vocans uni nomen suum, alteri nomen fratris, Rogerium et Ardiunum. 22 Hic enim Maginfredum genuit³⁶⁵.

9. 1 Interea reminiscens parentum meorum infra persecutionem barbarorum interim nominatis, qualiter circumventi sunt commendo stilo, et etiam memoriae nequeat latere posteris. 2 Quidam miles fuit meus³⁶⁶ patruelis; qui exiens ex finibus Carricianae³⁶⁷, Vercellis properabat ad urbem. 3 Audierat namque adventum barbarorum, sed distulit credere, quia tunc procul aberant a finibus nostris. 4 Dum iret igitur per³⁶⁸ nemus quoddam in iure ipsius civitatis, subito insiliunt in eum infinitae multitudines Sarracenorum – venerant iam in finibus Liguriaie – qui protinus confligunt, et sautiantur ex utraque parte. 5 Non valentes vero pauci contra tam magnam multitudinem, dilituunt; quidam eorum vivi detinentur. 6 Tunc captus est patruelis meus cum uno suo vernabulo; enimvero pessumdantur cum tauris herum et vernulam. 7 Dum haec agerentur, forte accidit, ut frater illius, scilicet avus meus, ad

³⁶³ seniore reuertitur *T* seniore suum reuertitur *T*^l

³⁶⁴ Vidensque senior prouidenter egisset *T* Videtque s. quod prudenter se e. *T*^l Videtque s. q. p. e. *T*²

³⁶⁵ hic – genuit *T*²

³⁶⁶ me *T* meus *T*^l

³⁶⁷ Murricanę *T*

³⁶⁸ iret per *T* iret igitur per *T*^l

curiam properaret episcopi. 8 Videt vernulam fratris vinctum cum tauro; ilico
exhorruit, cur ei evenisset causam interrogat³⁶⁹. 9 Respondisse vero fertur, illuc
cum³⁷⁰ venisset ab exploratoribus captus est; maliciose celans interceptionem sui heri,
ob gratiam sui liberandi. 10 Ipse autem profecto dedit tauracem trilicem, qua erat³⁷¹
indutus, et servum fratris liberat a vinculis. 11 Post ereptionem suam nequam pandit,
seniorem esse captum, ut Terentius ait, 12 “Omnes melius malunt sibi esse quam
alteri.” 13 Frater autem valde condolens fratre capto, stipendium non habens
redimendi, ad episcopum properat civitatis nomine Ingo, qui erat suus compater, ut³⁷²
daret illi aliquod aminiculum. 14 Sed non habens quod proficere posset, monetis³⁷³
consideravit³⁷⁴ cuncta sua penetralia, si inveniret quod³⁷⁵ sumeret. 15 Sed non
repperiens in illis³⁷⁶ facultatibus, vicinos et amicos requirit, et queque habere potuit,
pro redibitione dat fratris; et sic eum liberat a funere mortis.

10. 1 At nos regium³⁷⁷ captantes nomen, facili sermone eorum facta comprehendimus. 2
Mortuo quippe Lothario, uxor eius Adheleida a Berengario capitur, et in Papia
civitate in quodam coenaculo vi opprimitur, et diversis coangustatur calamitatibus. 3
Sed Deus inspector omnium, nihil constituens sine remedio, qui semper est misericors

³⁶⁹ euinisset causam *T* euinisset causam interrogat *T*²

³⁷⁰ dum *T*

³⁷¹ qua in erat *T*

³⁷² ciuitatis ut *T* ciuitatis nomine – compater ut *T*²

³⁷³ aminiculum monetis *T* aminiculum sed – posset monetis *T*^l

³⁷⁴ monens considerare *C*

³⁷⁵ quid *T*

³⁷⁶ non repertus nullis *C*

³⁷⁷ reges *T* regium *T*^l

humilium, reginam otius liberat. 4 Nam quaedam eius tyruncula, Christi premonita dextera, dominam propriis manibus liberat. 5 Hec subter limina ostiorum terram cavat manibus, quondam iatum faciens, se et dominam clam liberat. 6 Quae inde evadentes, collocant sese in humectis locis, ut sic fugere valerent. 7 Factum est autem, ut quidam clericus, nomine Warinus, auceps illic tenderet passus; vidensque reginam, fixit se capi ab eius amore, et requirit³⁷⁸ scelus nefarium. 8 At regina nobilissima stuprum abnegat; ille minacibus verbis eam minitat, quia proderet eam regi. 9 Dum angustatur undique, ammonet ut abutatur pedisseque³⁷⁹ ne fedaret reginam. 10 Modestus namque clericus verba rennuens ficta, renuit inania; post non multum tempus presul efficitur Modonensis, conferente sibi eadem regina. 11 Regina, ut supra retulimus, coangustatur diversis calamitatibus, et auxilium petit ab Attone, avus qui fuit Bonefacii. 12 Qui audiens legationem, equos producit, reginam aufert in Canusino castro.

11. 1 Sed rex Berengarius³⁸⁰ audit reginam morari in Canusino castro; hostiliter movit a Papia, veniensque ad castrum, passim obsidit. 2 Inter haec inimicus humani generis Attonem alloquitur, 3 “Si meus efficeris homo, multa copia tibi subministrabuntur.” 4 Atto vero audiens hec, respondit, se esse facturum ut oporteret; interrogat, qualiter hoc agere potuisset? 5 Diabolus respondit, “Adveniente sabbato venerit alius ad custodienda moenia. 6 Tu vero non abibis, sed rogato eum, ut tribuat tibi assensum morandi, quamdiu³⁸¹ vehicula quibus sustenteris venerint³⁸².” 7 Quod ita factum est.

³⁷⁸ requirens *T* requirit *T^d*

³⁷⁹ pedisse *T* pedisseque *T^d*

³⁸⁰ rex berengarius rex *T* rex berengarius *T^d*

³⁸¹ quia nondum *T*

8 Veniens vero coevus eius, dum audit talia petulantia, regressus est. 9 Mortuus est in eadem ebdomada episcopus Regensis; Atto vi obtinet castrum; fuerat illius episcopi. 10 Modo ad cepta redeamus. 11 Regina vero dum obsideretur a Berengario et ab Arduino Glabrione³⁸³, consilium quaerit³⁸⁴, quomodo evadere posset. 12 Defecerat ei iam panem et vinum³⁸⁵; sed Deus auxiliator eius illi donat amminiculum. 13 Arduinus namque loquitur ad regem, ut fari permetteret eum cum Attone; qui annuit petitioni eius, iubet ut loquatur. 14 Adgreditur Arduinus³⁸⁶ eum, interrogatque, 15 “Quot modia sunt vobis tritici?” 16 Respondit, “Non sunt nobis amplius preter quinque modia sigale et tria sextaria tritici.” 17 “Adquiesce,” monet, “meis consiliis, et accipe aper, et vescere eum tritico, emittesque eum foris³⁸⁷, et ego illum requiram regi. 18 Ut vero viderit, vehementer obstupescet, et sic prevalere poteris.” 19 Hoc ideo fecit Ardoinus, ob id quia Atto socer erat filii sui. 20 Facto videlicet mane, suadela fit Arduini; exit aper a moeniis³⁸⁸ castri, Arduinus illum occupat, occiditur, et exenterato eo plenus venter repperitur tritico. 21 Exercitus videlicet ammirans fatetur

³⁸² sustenteris minime uenerunt *T* sustenteris uenerunt *T*^l

³⁸³ arduino scabrosum *T* arduino scabrosus *T*^l arduino glabrione *T*²

³⁸⁴ quae *T* quaerit *T*^l

³⁸⁵ uict *T* uinum *T*^l

³⁸⁶ arduinum *T* arduinus *T*^l

³⁸⁷ foribus *T* foris *T*^l

³⁸⁸ moenibus *T* moenis *T*^l

frustra se laborare³⁸⁹; relinquunt obsidionem, Papiam revertuntur. 22 Mansit quippe regina in eodem³⁹⁰ castro pene tribus annis.

12. 1 Hoc tempore Otto dux Baioariorum venit in Italia, fungens legationem

Langobardorum, vindicat sibi regnum Italicum per interpellationem accolarum. 2 Qui accepit Adheleidam in coniugio, Deo prosperante perpetim eam habuit uxorem. 3 Berengarius autem rex fugit in castellum sancti Iulii, quod est circumseptus lacu, et ibi obsessus ab Attone est et captus, et effosis eius oculis sic relictus est. 4 Denique Atto remuneratur ab Ottone, quia fidelis et servitor esset uxoris suae, et tradidit omne ius terrae illius. 5 Nec mora, Lividus, qui et Behemoth, iterum reciprocatur letiferam sententiam. 6 “En,” dixit Attoni, “omnia sicut promisi feci, modo imple promissionem tuam!” 7 “Faciam ut dixi, ut oportet. 8 Precipit nobis apostolus omnia agi in nomine Domini, et in illius nomine volo agere.” 9 “Non ita,” inquit, “promisisti.” 10 Atto autem consignans se signo crucis, diabolus velut fumus evanuit.

13. 1 Adhuc de abbatibus Bremensium, Deo auxiliante, loqui optamus. 2 Seriem

Romaldi et vitam, queque repperimus dicemus. 3 Fuit autem vir timoratus et totus plenus Deo, ut clara eius fama postmodum edocuit. 4 Fuit quippe tam corpore quam sanctitate procerus. 5 Nam ex eius tumba odor manat suavissimus, quem³⁹¹ Deo adiuvante proprio anhelitu traxi, et inde totus repletus, velut quis saciatus³⁹² cibis

³⁸⁹ frustra laborare *T* frustra se laborare *T^l*

³⁹⁰ regina eodem *T* regina in eodem *T^l*

³⁹¹ quem *T* quo *T²*

³⁹² saciatur *T*

corporalibus. 6 Dignum videlicet est, ut caro mortua reddat odorem, quae viva redolevit pene circulum Italiae.

14. 1 Antequam caperetur predictus rex Berengarius ab Attone, dedit praeceptum hominibus morantibus in finibus Laumellinae in villa Folingi, ut caperent lupos, qui vehementer infestabant terram illam propter densitates opacum vel nemora silvarum. 2 Hii vero parentes preceptum regis, occidunt plurimos et ad curias regias properant. 3 Rex vero videns exercitum illorum, letatus est, quia ante magnum exitium paciebantur euntes et redeuntes ab eo.

15. 1 Temporibus his duo magni fuerunt fratres in Bremito oppido, divites et nimium locupletati. 2 Hii ergo durum servitium assueti ponere cervicibus horum hominum, in lateribus et in quibuscumque honoribus. 3 Relinquentes igitur illud servitium post precepta regalia, regique soli colla submitunt. 4 Ipsi vero tumefacti auferunt hos, et puniunt dire; quibusdam oculos evellunt, quibusdam manus et pedes incidunt, nonnullis squaloribus carcerum dampnant. 5 Conquestio illorum ad aulas pervenit regis; qui vehementer commotus, minitavit illis, iam ultra non essent³⁹³ possessuri terram illam.

16. 1 Hos denique timor invasit inmanis; et timentes minas illius, a proprio limite subtrahunt pedes. 2 Fugientibusque illis, quidam illustris marchio nomine Albertus hos insequitur, et dedit pecunia et emit locum illum mediatim; altera vero pars Aimo sibi vindicat. 3 His respectus divino moderamine sancto Petro contulit; eo quod non haberet heredes, sanctum sibi Petrum fecit heredem.

17. 1 Monachi denique Novaliciensium, videntes locum aptum et amoenum et fructiferum omnibus quae mandi possunt, tam in leguminibus quam in piscibus, sibi

³⁹³ esse *T* essent *T*^l

illum expetunt in caput, et ob id quod popularis esset et undique septus aquarum
copiis. 2 Qui magnum spectaculum prestat omnibus usque in presentem diem;
excellenter vero est cunctis oppidis constructi in comitatu Lomellensi, et medius
cunctis civitatibus, et vicinus regalibus sedibus, et pro afflictione barbarorum. 3
Nunc autem ad persecutionem paganorum vertamus stilum.

18. 1 Pietas videlicet divina quae³⁹⁴ non sinit nos temptare supra id quod possumus, sed
facit quoque cum temptatione proventum, ut possimus sustinere. 2 Eodem tempore,
quo fusci morabantur in castro Frascenedello, et undique diffuentes per climata
mundi tollunt et predantur omnia, quidam eorum fuit nomine Aimo, coetaneus
illorum. 3 Hic cum his exit devastare terram illam, et rapiunt aurum et equas et
bubulas diversaque monilia, puellasque et parvulos. 4 Factum est, ut sortiarentur
queque captaverant, et mulier quaedam pulchra nimis sortitur in portione Aimonis. 5
Ex ea autem altercatio fit inter utrosque; venit quidam potentior illo, subtrahit illi; ipse
autem tumefactus mansit extra illos. 6 Volens vero Deus liberare populum, fixit illi
in corde, quatenus proderet locum illum et homines morantes in eo. 7 Vadit quippe
ad comitem Robaldum Provinciae³⁹⁵ finibus, et adiurat eum, ut nemini prodatur
secretum³⁹⁶ quod cupiebat illi fari, nec etiam propriae uxori. 8 Ipse autem testatur
nemini prodere³⁹⁷. 9 Ille ait, “Ecce trado vobis inimicos vestros perpetratores
nequiciae.” 10 Qui gavisus est valde, et spopondit ei tribuere omnia, si hoc opus
exercuisset. 11 Mandat idcirco omnibus Arduinoque, ut adiuvent eum in quodam

³⁹⁴ qui *T*

³⁹⁵ burcundię *T* Prouincię *T^l*

³⁹⁶ secreta *T* secretum *T^l*

³⁹⁷ prodi *T* prodere *T^l*

negocium. 12 Omnes denique occurrunt hostiliter ei. 13 Litigantes vero inter se homines, nescii³⁹⁸ quo tenderent, at ipse hortatur illos, ut sequantur³⁹⁹ illum. 14 Dum itaque venirent ad castrum, ortans Robaldus ait, 15 “O fratres, pugnate pro animabus vestris, quia in terra estis Saracenorum!” 16 Illi vero fortes adhelete dimicant et depopulantur locum illum. 17 Haec ultio dolo Aymonis facta est, cuius genus nostris adhuc manet temporibus.

19. 1 In his ergo⁴⁰⁰ temporibus, cum vallis Segusina inermem et inhabitatam permaneret, Ardoinus vir potens eripit illam et nobis tulit. 2 Tantum igitur⁴⁰¹ erat plenus viciis quantum et divitiis, superbia tumidus, carnis suae voluptatibus subditus, in adquirendis rebus alienis avariciae facibus succensus.

20. 1 Mortuo denique Belegrimmo, per biennium Iohannes prepositus prefuit abbatae, largiente sibi Arduino. 2 Qui nequaquam consecrationem meruit, sed amminiculante Deo amoto hoc, strenuissimus et humillimus Gezo abbaciam suscepit.

21. 1 Denique rudibus ac posteribus⁴⁰² fratribus insinuare cupimus, quid⁴⁰³ a Lothario regulo iam praenominato actum⁴⁰⁴ sit, malumus patefacere quam abdere. 2 Tametsi in quodam capitulo aliqua de eo carpsimus⁴⁰⁵, tamen reliquimus aliqua, quae non⁴⁰⁶

³⁹⁸ nesci *T* nescii *T*^d

³⁹⁹ sequatur *T* sequantur *T*^d

⁴⁰⁰ his temporibus *T* his ergo temporibus *T*^d

⁴⁰¹ tantum erat *T* tantum igitur erat *T*^d

⁴⁰² posteris *T*

⁴⁰³ quod *T*

⁴⁰⁴ praenominato quod actum *T* praenominato actum *T*^d

⁴⁰⁵ capsimus *T* carpsimus *T*^d

sunt amittenda. 3 Extitit quidam marchio illius temporibus, cuius memoriam
sepissime fecimus, nomine Arduinus Glabrio; qui recte coequari⁴⁰⁷ lupis potest,
violenter auferens aliena, et dispensor⁴⁰⁸ alienarum opum. 4 Is privata lex sibi expetit
abbatiae Bremensis. 5 Quod ubi illi obtulit regulus⁴⁰⁹, dignam a Deo solvit
vindictam: revolutis⁴¹⁰ aliquot diebus vitam amisit mortemque invenit.

22. 1 Post haec nutu disponente⁴¹¹ divino Otto fungebatur regnum Italiae. 2 Tunc abbas
Gezo conquestus est vir Deo plenus regi mala passa dudum abbatiae. 3 Rex vero
adquiescens eius petitionibus⁴¹², preceptum illud nefandum medio duci precepit, et in
conspectu omnium Quiritum eius urere; Gezoni contulit aliud, quod usque manet in
armariolo nostro.

23. 1 Paulo post quidam palatinus comes nomine Samson, ut aiunt multi qui nostris
temporibus supersunt, illus a propria coniuge, nostrum petiit dogma, et ad sacra
sancti Petri limina adtonsus, factus est monachus in loco Bremedo, ubi sarcinula
posuit carnis. 2 Hic autem tantas opes beato Petro obtulit, ut egestas prisca
repararetur. 3 Nam adtenuata loca nostra ad tantam⁴¹³ inopiam devenerant⁴¹⁴, ut
carerent victualibus cibis. 4 Contulit vero aurum, argentum, equas et bubulas, et

⁴⁰⁶ quae sunt *T* quae non sunt *T*^l

⁴⁰⁷ aequari *T*

⁴⁰⁸ dispergens *T* dispensor *T*^l

⁴⁰⁹ obtulit dignam *T* obtulit regulus dignam *T*^l

⁴¹⁰ uindic[tam] fere reuolutis *T* uindic[tam] reuolutis *T*^l

⁴¹¹ disponendo *T* disponente *T*^l

⁴¹² petitioni *T* petitionibus *T*^l

⁴¹³ in tantum *T* ad tantam *T*^l

⁴¹⁴ devenerat *T*

domus Dei in proprio loco reparatur. 5 Quin vero curiam detulit unam, qua servatur mos regius, nomine Cannobius. 6 Est enim sita penes rupes, habilis et nimis rutilis locus, et undique septus aquarum meatibus⁴¹⁵, piscium fertilitas multa⁴¹⁶. 7 Ante cuius os stagnum mire magnitudinis habetur; quadraginta namque milibus in longum extenditur et quinque in latum; fervet enim flatibus ventum aliquando, ut nemo audet⁴¹⁷ ingredi; ubi quisquis obierit, visus ultra non erit. 8 Inde Ticinus fluvius proprios trait fluctus, ingrediens et egrediens in eo. 9 Mos vero servorum illorum miratur ab omnibus; talis adhuc perseverat. 10 Sunt omnes nuper vocati aulici⁴¹⁸, quorum nomen et exercitium perseverat; nam sunt qui deferunt ligna a nemoribus, aliudque negotium non vacant; sunt qui larem faciunt minimeque aliud operantur; quod si forte scintillula prodierit et aliqua stramenta incenderit, ex propriis facultatibus repparant dampnum; sunt qui faculas terunt, aliis operibus non exercent. 11 Hic secundus Otto defungitur, et tertius eligitur.

24. 1 Duo magni comites fuerunt⁴¹⁹, qui hisdem temporibus vestigia sancti Benedicti arripiunt; quorum nomina ideo a nostris cordibus pulsa non sunt, ut cognoscatur, quantam dilectionem circa illos habemus. 2 Rogerius vocatus est unus, alter dictus est Obertus⁴²⁰, illustres secundum sanguinem, sed illustriores secundum stigmata divina. 3 Mox ut illud divinum sumunt negotium, dicionis sacre subeunt colla, et

⁴¹⁵ copiis *T* meatibus *T^l*

⁴¹⁶ multam *T* multa *T^l*

⁴¹⁷ audit *T* audet *T^l*

⁴¹⁸ aulicos *T* aulici *T²*

⁴¹⁹ fuerant *T* fuerunt *T^l*

⁴²⁰ otbertus *T*

exercent humilitatem, quae regina est omnium virtutum, et omnis virtus egra iacet, quem humilitas non firmat; alunt denique sues, conglomerantque holera infusa residuum farinae, et ciunt eos ad esum. 4 Prestantius illis operibus dicere quimus quae⁴²¹ operati sunt; sed modeste ista exarati sumus, ut cognoscant reliqui in parvo omnia redigisse. 5 Verum tempus deficiet, si ea quae ad nutum devenere nostrum, scribere curaverimus⁴²².

25. 1 In tempesta igitur temporis⁴²³ huius condolens abbas Gezo loci Bremiti, quod Novelucis monasterium dirutum et pene incognitum iam lateret, misit quendam monachum, qui mansit recuperator et auctor in quantum licuit. 2 Sirmata cuius secutus sum, quem multi noverunt propinquum mihi⁴²⁴ fuisse. 3 Qui veniens, domus Dei plene lucis invenit; sed⁴²⁵ dum incederentur, longe abibant. 4 Moenia vero ecclesiarum minime confringebantur, quasi forent rationabilia, ut quippiam eis indiceret, ne nocerent septis. 5 Sed quoniam relatio horum monachorum a nobis reserata est, ad monachum Bruningum, sacro ex stemate virum, portio conlaudanda descendit. 6 Qui cum foret sapientissimus et vafer et sciens tantum⁴²⁶ operis divini quantum secularisque, iussum est ei abbatis iussionem, ut adiret locum ad hunc et strueret absidam sancti Andreae, quae tunc parva habebatur. 7 Quamquam foret extima, adiutus divino aminiculo iam redintegratur, ut foret prestantior cunctis. 8

⁴²¹ operibus istis dicere quimus quibus quae *T* operibus dicere quimus quae *T*^l

⁴²² curabimus *T* curauerimus *T*^l

⁴²³ temporibus *T* temporis *T*^l

⁴²⁴ mis *T*

⁴²⁵ lucis sed *T* lucis inuenit sed *T*^l

⁴²⁶ tanti *T* tantum *T*^l

Hoc non ad favorem⁴²⁷ nostrorum fati sumus, sed conspiciatio hominum ostendit, minime nos falli; quae quisque nobis facile poterit investigare tenorem huius sermonis, si convenientia aspexerit. 9 Nam septa nobilibus hominibus in capite civitatis, magnum spectaculum confert omnibus. 10 Tale opus egit Bruningus, excellentissimus vir et admodum castus sobriusque, et monasterium Novelucis sepissime considerabat, et opum instrumenta largitus, ut reaedificaretur.

26. 1 Ad actum clarissimi viri Uberti prepositi Bremensis vertatur stilus. 2 Memoria huius viri magna est apud Deum, et apud homines enucleatius tractanda est. 3 Ut series cana narrat, vir sanctus iste sanctus et modestus fuit, in tantum ut potestas sit ei tradita demones eliminare. 4 Quadraginta videlicet anni extiterant, quod nunquam in latus dextrum sua membra reclinavit. 5 Post cantum pullorum in lecto nunquam dormivit, sed in absidam intrans Deo plaudebat cantica vatum. 6 Volens autem Deus requiescere tantum virum ab opere gravi – grave⁴²⁸ dico propter sarcinam carnis, sed leve valde per amorem Spiritus sancti, quia omniaabilia sunt credentibus – longe antequam moreretur, ei Dominus per visum affatur, quia meati paucis diebus in gaudia sanctorum ab angelis suscioperetur. 7 Et adeo caro eius in tantum afflicta est, ut post mortem sic herebat cutis ossibus, ut prorsus pulpa abesse videretur; aperte demonstrans, cuius meriti fuerit.

27. 1 Hunc vero secutus est alter, minime impar, tam sedulus in oratione quam in lectione, memorator exempli apostolici: 2 “Vir non refrenans linguam suam, vana eius religio est.” 3 Ut aiunt illi, illo qui aderant, iam verbis fluentibus ab altero in alterum, quod quadam nocte, dum matutinalibus officiis necessaria peteret humane

⁴²⁷ forem *T* fauorem *T'*

⁴²⁸ grauem *T* graue *T'*

exiret, margo toge illius a catellulis duobus tenetur, qui nitebantur adtrahere eum in terra tenus aut taciturnitatem corrumpere. 4 Sed mens locata in firma petra, facilius potuit occidi quam superari. 5 Cum sic laborarent, ventum est ad domum, in qua signum trepidandum habebatur. 6 Fugantur demones a victrici⁴²⁹ signo, qui videbantur esse catelli, et ad punitatem revertuntur suam, agendo, 7 “Heu heu! superati a monacho, vincere dum optavimus, victi sumus.”

28. 1 Eodem tempore fuit vir idoneus et sapiens, nomine Wido, clericus extemate Oberti⁴³⁰ comitis, cuius superius memoriam fecimus. 2 His ex prediis suis contulit sancto Petro munera, fere quod sufficere posset ad monachorum victus duodecim centum⁴³¹. 3 Post haec vero concupivit videre locum Bremiti; ivit ad baptistam⁴³² suam Gezonem abbatem, in quo tantum delectatus est, ut adiceret duo castra⁴³³, Verdunum scilicet et Rodum. 4 Consequentia quippe haec ab omnibus amplexetur.
29. 1 Et factum est his temporibus, ut quidam marchio nomine Oddo, afflatus alto flamine, ex propriis stipendiis loca auxit nostra. 2 Ipsemet igitur Oddo circumvolans sacra vestigia apostolorum, reliquit sua in terris, ut glorificaretur in coelis. 3 Interpretare enim possumus nomen cuius auctorem, quia auctor fuit habitacula vatum. 4 Qui, Petre, tradidit tibi Pollentiam, locum dignum, memor esto doni clarissimi, contradere coelica dona ipsi, qui tribuit terrea. 5 Tibi ibi modulatur rithmica laudum; moenia cuius loci emicat clare patule, quo pareat, quantivis precii fuerit; qua latices

⁴²⁹ uitrice *T* uitrici *T^l*

⁴³⁰ otberti *T*

⁴³¹ xi^oicim *T*

⁴³² baptistem *T* baptistam *T^l*

⁴³³ adiceret duo castra adiceret *T*

tot repperiuntur, quot non inveniuntur loco in ullo. 6 Praeter quos est ibi latex quidam, olim vocatus Impius, ubi inter fluctus conspiciuntur⁴³⁴ caeruleas silices, veluti madefactum sanguinem; quo in loco multi⁴³⁵ referunt cesa fuisse sanctorum corpora. 7 Tradunt multi, quia fuit civitas prisco in tempore; et ut vere credatur, exemplum hystoriae Romanae in medio proferimus. 8 Dicit enim, “De malis apud Pollentiam gestis satagimus dicere aliquantisper.” 9 Quidam autem rex, nomine Attila Flagellum Dei, obsedit eam multis annis; ad ultimum cepit eam et misit⁴³⁶ maceries eius usque in terram.

30. 1 Non ideo propagavimus sermones, ut digna facta domni Gezonis conemur obmittere, cuius temporibus haec acquisita sunt. 2 Idcirco intrinsecus haec posuimus, ut illatio haec demonstret, quam mordaciter eius facta tenemus. 3 Virtutis insignia ipsius tale ostentamen primas ostendit⁴³⁷. 4 In bivio hoc secus muros civitatis, in angulo ecclesiae sancti Andreae, occurrit ei quidam circumdatus ferro in femure et in brachiis. 5 Quem ut beatus vidit Gezo, miserans illi propensius oransque, ut erat benigno afflatu, lacrimans et orationibus instans, manus hominis in suas palmas inflectit. 6 Sic ab eo pepulit ferri circula; cruor exit passim, et membra viri solidantur in pristinum statum. 7 Iam vero caro detexerat ferrum illud, et cutis supercrescens interius puttebat⁴³⁸.

⁴³⁴ conspiciuntur *T* conspiciuntur *T^l*

⁴³⁵ loco ut multi *T* loco multi *T^l*

⁴³⁶ et elisit *C*

⁴³⁷ ostentamen *T* ostendit *T^l*

⁴³⁸ mittebat *T* puttebat *T^l*

31. 1 Item preclarum eius miraculum narratur. 2 Forte accidit, ut aliquando adventaret ad vicum, cuius nomen est Supunicus, causa hospitandi; erat enim de rebus ipsius ecclesiae. 3 Ubi non post multum Wido marchio venit fremens, ut leo; quem iure possumus coequare leoni, et inpenitens thesaurizabat sibi iram in die irae. 4 Ubi dum veniret, audivit domnum Gezonem ibi adesse; non formidavit quin a propriis vernulis expellere fecisset. 5 Sed vir timoratus non solum non fugit, verum etiam locum dedit irae et distulit⁴³⁹ pedes statu ab illo, et in domum aliam preparat sibi refectionem, parvoque intervallo meditat in orationem, venter eius herendo in terram. 6 Ibi dum protelaret orationem, per visum illi patefactum est, Wido non diu mansurus in hac fragili vita. 7 Quidam sacerdos longe manens in somnis vidit, sese tendere gressum in lucum qui est iuxta Padum in loco Fadoae; et ibi in visione vidit duos demones furentes, a quorum estu videbantur rami et folia arborum urere, gestantes enses flamiferos in manibus. 8 Qui dum graderentur, retrorsum aspiciunt⁴⁴⁰ sanctum Petrum Paulumque venire, cedentesque locum, ex via secedunt⁴⁴¹. 9 Ubi veniunt ad locum, interrogant, quid rei esset ut sic trepidarent? 10 Illi inquit, “Vos ignoratis?” 11 Sanctus vero Petrus auferens eis pugiones, virgas eis tribuit et inquit, 12 “Ite et Widonem punite virgis, non ensibus.” 13 Euntes vero illi percusserunt Widonem sedentem in convivio; qui extemplo amens effectus, caruit sensibus hominum, et improbus talem luit vindictam, ut absque munimine corporis et sanguinis Domini obiret.

⁴³⁹ edistulit *T* et distulit *T*^l

⁴⁴⁰ accipiunt *T* aspiciant *T*^l

⁴⁴¹ se cedunt *T*

32. 1 Fuit hisdem temporibus quidam monachus, nihil discrepans ab illis, quibus
 memoriam superius fecimus. 2 Hic observabat limina sanctarum ecclesiarum, ut post
 matutinalem officium ad strata numquam rediret. 3 In tempore igitur sanctae
 quadragesimae consueto more ante aram sancti Walerici orabat; forte accidit, ut
 somno caperetur. 4 Hoc actum est in festivitate sancti Benedicti. 5 Factum est dum
 obdormiret, vidit per visionem quendam togam albam indutum desuper contextam
 auro, gestantem in manum turribulum aureum plenum odorifero thimiate. 6 Qui cum
 venisset ad aram, a quatuor partibus odoratus⁴⁴² est eam. 7 Porrigens autem illud,
 inquit ei, 8 “Vade, nuntia fratribus euge nostri ex parte. 9 Scito me esse
 Benedictum patrem, hodieque lustrasse cuncta coenobia; in nullo tamen sic obsecutus
 sum ut in⁴⁴³ isto.” 10 Ita inquit, et evanuit ab oculis eius. 11 Liqueat hoc a
 catholicis viris demonstratum; et nulli sit ambiguum, quin in suis festivitibus et in
 aliis diebus sancti suas visitent aedes. 12 Sanctus quippe Gregorius in libro dialogi
 scribit: 13 “Quadam nocte venit sanctus Petrus in absidam nomine suo constructam;
 quendam custodem alloquitur, 14 ‘O conliberte, cur tam ocius surrexisti?’ reficiebat
 namque lampadas. 15 Qui extemplo solutis omnibus membris, ad stratum devehitur.”
 16 Haec quamobrem evenierit, scire quis cupit, propensius repperire potuerit, si illum
 librum legerit.

33. 1 Referam autem, quid contigit Leoni Vercellensis episcopo. 2 Quod quodam
 tempore, dum usurpare vellet hanc abbatiam simul cum episcopio sanctae Mariae

⁴⁴² adoratus *T* odoratus *T*^l

⁴⁴³ sum in *T* sum ut in *T*^l

Eporediensis⁴⁴⁴ ecclesiae, quadam nocte venit beatissima ac gloriosissima Dei genitrix, quasi conspersis crinibus et dissolutis atque lacrimosis oculis, ducens secum beatissimum patronum nostrum Petrum. 3 Ipsa vero precedens⁴⁴⁵ ut domina, venit ad lectum predicti episcopi; ad quem cum venisset ait, “Dormis, episcope?” 4 Ad quam ille pavidus respondit, “Quis es?” 5 et illa, “Sum Maria genitrix Dei ac Salvatoris humani generis.” 6 Cui ille, “Quid ad me venisti, preclara domina?” 7 et illa, “Cave, ne ultra ecclesiam meam Epporediensem atque ecclesiam Bremetensem sancti⁴⁴⁶ Petri apostolorum principis querere audeas, si mortem pessimam non vis ocius incurrere. 8 Ad hoc enim venimus, ne tale scelus fieret per te.” 9 Quicum talia dixisset, recessit. 10 Ipse vero non solum prefatas queritare cessavit ecclesias, sed etiam plena voce hanc visionem sibi apparuisse sepissime confessus est.

34. 1 In illis diebus, dum Gezo abbas adveniret in Albam civitatem, quidam episcopus nomine Fulcardus contulit ei duo magna pignora, scilicet sanctorum Frontiniani et Silvestri. 2 Receptis autem pignoribus, dum ad Tanagrum fluvium advenisset, aqua divisit se in duas partes, et dominus Gezo transivit per siccum in medio eius. 3 Ideo hec inrationabilis creatura egit, ut patefaceret, quibus meritis apud Deum obtinent sancti, ut nec vector umidam faceret reliquias vestimenti. 4 Is Fulcardus comiter nostrum dilexit locum, quia monachus fuit.

35. 1 Eodem tempore, dum sollempnitas sanctorum Philippi et Iacobi celebraretur, evenit in memoriam, ut ipsa die in honorem sanctorum Aci et Acciole sollempnia missarum celebrarentur. 2 Ignorabatur, quando vel quo tempore sollempnitas horum sanctorum

⁴⁴⁴ eporediē *T* eporediēnsis *T*^l

⁴⁴⁵ Ipsa procedens *T* Ipsa vero procedens *T*^l

⁴⁴⁶ ecclesiam sancti *T* ecclesiam bremetensem sancti *T*^l

celebrari⁴⁴⁷ debuisset. 3 Itaque dum peracta memoria illorum esset, omnes lucerne more congruo extincte sunt; mansionarius vero putans se esse illum, extinxit iterum. 4 Dum a mensa surgeret, ecce iterum invenit omnes accensas. 5 Ilico obstupuit. 6 Patefactum est, ut ipsa die festivitas horum sanctorum celebrari debuisset, quod per eos Dominus tam mira fieri voluit. 7 Unde factum est, ut per singulos annos in eodem die missa celebretur ad altare nomine illorum dedicatum. 8 Hii vero digni Deo martyres apud prefatum locum tumbam possident.

36. 1 Eodem quoque tempore evenit, ut quidam homo pateretur ulcus in nare per longum tempus. 2 Quippe percussus sagitta, hastile prodit, ebidentale ipsius intrinsecus remansit. 3 Hic autem homo ad sacra beati Walerici venit pignora in celebritate illius. 4 Qui dum venisset ante aram illius, pre nimio dolore obdormivit. 5 Quod dum fieret, protectus adiutorio pii confessoris ab nare exiit sagitta, et sic liberatus est a proprio dolore. 6 Inde gaudens, quandiu advixit nomen pii abbatis ab eius ore non defuit.

37. 1 Guntramni furitas ideo narratur, ut discant potentes, quanto magis sevierint, tanto magis cruciabuntur. 2 Oderat hic infelix nostra loca, et monachos et laicos sepe turpiabat. 3 Accidit, ut quadam die a domno Gezone vocaretur, quo veniret et pranderet ad monasterium et faveret aliquod negotium excuciendae rei. 4 Ipse vero superbia tumidus, non respuit, sed venit more ferino. 5 Erat quoddam cenaculum ante seras ecclesiae; ibi, dum esset satur, somno praeptus est. 6 Dum igitur dormiret, ante lectum eius adstitit sacerdos quidam, in manibus habens bipennem; qui bis eum percussit ex eo clam, tercio vero dure a tergo capitis; et talem miser vindictam luit. 7 Expergefactus aspexit et cit servos, ut eum vindicent ab illatore mortis. 8 Qui venientes, illuc atque illuc aspicientes neminem viderunt; ipse vero eger aspexit

⁴⁴⁷ celebrare *T* celebrari *T*^l

viditque illum introeuntem per rimulam hostiorum in absidam. 9 Cognovit ilico miser mala quae egerat, et quis esset qui eum interemisset. 10 Enimvero die tercio funditus vitam amisit.

38. 1 Ipsemet domnus Gezo, quem supra nominavimus, plenus dierum iam convalescerat bona etate, prenimiaque senectute peciit sibi adiutorem et protectorem monachum fidelem nomine Gothefredum⁴⁴⁸, et adeo mansuetus, ut mansuetior illo invenire non quiret. 2 Tantum iste vir timidus fuit et mansuetus, ut diceres, quod nec prospera nec adversa eum conturbare quirent; patientia vero gratia ita plenus fuit, ut nunquam irasci videretur.

39. 1 Contigit hoc, quod narrare volumus, in sollempnitate clari apostoli Petri, quae maxima⁴⁴⁹ habetur in cunctis nostris monasteriis. 2 Casu accidit, ut quidam monachus superbia diaboli tumidus non timuit, quin extenderet manum suam et virum per omnia dignum feriret. 3 At non ille non solum pacifice pertulit, verum etiam aliam faciem cessit, non immemor precepti Domini: 4 “Qui te percusserit in unam maxillam, prebe ei et aliam.” 5 Mox vero ille punitus, luit culpam in penam tumoris; extemplo vero tumefactum brachium illius liberari non potuit, quoadusque ipse domnus Gotefredus non celebravit sacrificium pro eo.

40. 1 Post haec igitur quidam adolescens erat in finibus Pollentiae, nomine Stabilis, tante simplicitatis, ut ignoraret, quae esset forma segetum et pecudum. 2 Attamen Deum timebat studiosius, ut mors ipsius postea edocuit. 3 Mortuus vero ut fuit, more consueto lotus est et in feretro locatus est. 4 Erat illo igitur tempore Albericus episcopus Cumensis in eodem loco. 5 In tempesta igitur noctis a cacumine coeli

⁴⁴⁸ gotefredum *T*

⁴⁴⁹ quae sol maxima *T* quae maxima *T^d*

usque ad feretrum visum est descendisse columpnam⁴⁵⁰ ignis. 6 Qui Albericus videns miratus est, et cum suis cleris pro obsequio illius cadaveri turribula et luminaria fert, et ipse frequenter eius pedes osculatus est, et vigiliarum cantica celebravit.

41. 1 Ipsoque vero tempore fur erat in loco Novalicio, qui violabat et ledebat queque poterat, et sub antro quodam reponebat, et ibi ne caperetur latebat. 2 Haec agebat die tercio ante nativitatem Christi. 3 Is ergo exploratus est ab hominibus degentibus in illo loco, captusque est et ad monasterium deductus et in custodiam missus. 4 Nocte igitur adveniente media nativitatis Christi, qua enixam credimus Dei genitricem, solutus est a vinculis ignorante eo. 5 Ipsemet mox cit custodes, et prodit se esse solutum; omnes vero ammirati relinquunt illum absque ullo discrimine.

42. 1 In eodem loco forte lupus veniens a supercilio montis, puerum captavit in predam, et ore tulit in vallem quae vocatur Frigida, non procul distans a monasterio. 2 Dum vero ab eo duceretur, mortuus est, sed minime comestus⁴⁵¹. 3 Egit ergo mirabile quoddam, quod tacere nolumus. 4 Nam mutata feritate bestia fit custos illius, qui paulo ante fuerat interemptor, et demum sepultor. 5 Detulit enim eum versa vice ad⁴⁵² absidam sanctae Dei genitricis ad crucem, et ibi eum sepelivit sub quercu quadam. 6 Cornices vero quae ibi corniculabantur, videntes puerum non integre⁴⁵³ coopertus, nitebantur comedere illud. 7 Sed ille qui conclusit os rabidum⁴⁵⁴, conclusit

⁴⁵⁰ columpnam T columpna T^2

⁴⁵¹ comestus est T comestus T^2

⁴⁵² ab T ad T^l

⁴⁵³ integer T

⁴⁵⁴ rabidus T rabidum T^l

et avidum rostrum. 8 A cornicatione harum mox citati genitores, cognoscunt illorum fuisse filius, et⁴⁵⁵ rem gestam pandunt.

43. 1 De armentario illius monasterii, qui liberatus est ab vire anguis, satigimus dicere. 2 Hic⁴⁵⁶ dum cerneret armenta bovum in monte Cinisio, somno captus est; anguis quidam illic latens videns apertum eius os, introivit corpus. 3 His cum sensit dolorem propincum mortis, clamat et vociferat; habebat unde exclamare posset. 4 Hic hic audire potes deificum opus. 5 Dum volutaretur ante aram sancti Petri, munitus est corpore et sanguine Christi; evector est domi; extemplo obdormivit. 6 Morari enim non potuit serpens in corpus, ubi iam introiverat⁴⁵⁷ munimen divinum; dissidere non valet creatura contra creatorem suum. 7 Aperto igitur ore prodivit serpens lubricus; alius autem coevus eius viso, illum interfecit, et patefecit cunctis mira quae potestas egit divina.

44. 1 Notum est cunctis, quod monasterium Novelucis dirutum est a paganis, et usque ad terram exinanita sunt eis moenia. 2 Moderno denique tempore condolentes monachi inibi degentes dampnum illud, accersiunt episcopum Vigintimilii, ut consecraret absidas dirutas, videlicet sancti Michaelis sanctaeque Dei genitricis Mariae, et sancti Salvatoris sanctique Heldradi⁴⁵⁸. 3 Nocte ergo precedente quidam ex domesticis accubabat in quadam domu; audit luctum mire magnitudinis demonum, quasi esset caterva hominum⁴⁵⁹, dicentes, 4 “Heu heu! ea loca quae usque modo possedimus,

⁴⁵⁵ fuisse et *T* fuisse filius et *T*^l

⁴⁵⁶ hi *T* hic *T*^l

⁴⁵⁷ introierat *T*

⁴⁵⁸ heldradis *T* heldradi *T*^l

⁴⁵⁹ deminum *T* hominum *T*^l

vim amittimus ea, diu possessores, nunc expertes!” 5 Quos intellegimus esse
demonēs absque ullo ambiguo. 6 In die sequente edes ille sacre consecrantur. 7
Corroboramus hoc gestum dictionibus sancti papae Gregorii. 8 Dicit enim in libris
dialogorum, quia quidam episcopus Andreas consecravit ecclesiam quandam in
honorem omnium sanctorum, auditeque vero ibi sunt voces multiplices demoniorum.

45. 1 Quadam die, cum vervicarius ipsius loci aferret⁴⁶⁰ victum aliis, qui tunc Campo
Merliti erant, intravit⁴⁶¹ in linterem cepitque remigare per fluvium Duram. 2
Diabolus autem antiquus homicida perdidit hunc negando; suffocavit enim eum in
gurgitem aquae. 3 Nec minus probri fecit in die secundo: per negligentiam cuidam
fratri abstulit memoriam, ut solummodo aquam ferret ad celebrandum missam. 4
Insequenti nocte quidam frater ibat ad aeclesiam sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae ad
radicem montis sitam; apparuit ei demon in speciem scurrae, tenens duos littuos⁴⁶² in
manibus, vestimentum cuius undique scissum marginibus offatis. 5 Ille interrogans,
quis esset? respondit, 6 “Sum ille dudum, qui perdidit vervicarium negando in aquam,
et heri celebrare⁴⁶³ missam absque vino.” 7 Ita vero inquires⁴⁶⁴, et submersit se in
aquam, ultraque visus non est. 8 Factum est, dum rediret ille frater, obviam habuit
tres virgines sacras⁴⁶⁵, intuitus quorum nimis erat candidus, mediam vero horum tante

⁴⁶⁰ i ferret *T*

⁴⁶¹ merliti intrauit *T* merliti erant intrauit *T^l*

⁴⁶² lit d duo littuos *T* duo littuos *T²*

⁴⁶³ celebrarem *T* celebrare *T^l*

⁴⁶⁴ Ita inquires *T* Ita uero inquires *T^l*

⁴⁶⁵ sacrę *T* sacras *T^l*

pulcritudinis et proceritatis, ut etiam non quiret ille vultum ingerere in ea⁴⁶⁶. 9

Dixerunt autem utreque ad monachum, 10 “O monache, quo vadis?” 11 Respondit ille, “Ab ecclesia sanctae Dei genitricis regredior.” 12 “Recte,” ait, “facis, quia eius sacra limina lustras. 13 En enim illa cotidie exorat pro peccatis omnium populorum.” 14 Sic dixerunt, et ille somno solutus est.

46. 1 Item contigit, ut eodem loco quem supra nominavimus, erat monachus placidus et humilis, apparuitque ei quidam⁴⁶⁷ in similitudine pastoris, gestantem in manibus ferulam, dicendo, 2 “Vade, nuntia fratribus, ut sepe visitent has sacras edes; quia fuerunt septem Greci, preceptor quorum ego fui, et inibi tumultantur.” 3 Sic ait, et statim evanuit ab oculis eius.

47. 1 Fertur, quod quadam die mansionarius illius ecclesiae, more assueto dum extinxisset certa⁴⁶⁸ lumina et accendisset cereum unum vespertino⁴⁶⁹ in tempore, in crastinum cum surrexisset, ut sonueret matutinum, illud cereum minime reperit, sed candelam aliam in ceroferarium. 2 Cepitque mirare, et interrogans suum adseclam, si⁴⁷⁰ hoccine egisset, respondit “Non.” 3 Voluit quippe auferre eam hinc; sed recordatus, quod accidit cuidam custodi, ut narratur in libro miraculorum, quia dum tolleret candelam accensam positam ante altare, ex inproviso mox conversa in colubrem eius momordit digitum.

EXPLICIT LIBER QUINTUS

⁴⁶⁶ eo *T* ea *T*^l

⁴⁶⁷ apparuit quidam *T* apparuit ei quidam *T*^l

⁴⁶⁸ ceta *T*

⁴⁶⁹ uestpertinum *T* uestertino *T*^l

⁴⁷⁰ sum *T*

Appendix

1. 1 “Carolus gratia Dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum, omnibus episcopis, abbatibus, ducibus, comitibus, domesticis, vicariis, centenariis, vel omnes missos nostros discurrentes, praesentibus et futuris. 2 Hoc nobis ad stabilitatem regni nostri maxime credimus pertinere, si illa beneficia, quod antecessores nostri reges ad loca sanctorum concesserunt, per nostram auctoritatem confirmamus. 3 Ideoque vir venerabilis Frodoinus abba clementiae regni nostri suggestit, eo quod incliti anteriores reges vel domnus et genitor noster bonae memoriae Pippinus quondam rex integram emunitatem ad monasterium Novalicis in valle Sigosina, quod est in honore beatorum apostolorum Petri et Andraeae vel ceterorum sanctorum constructum, concessissent, ut nullus iudex publicus in rebus⁴⁷¹ atque facultatibus eiusdem ecclesiae, ad causas audiendum vel freda exigendum nec mansiones aut paratas faciendum neque fideiussores ad homines ingenuos aut servientes tollendum nec nullas redibutiones quae partibus fisci debebantur requirendum, inibi iudiciari potestas ingredi quoquo tempore non deberet. 4 Unde et ipsas emunitates nobis in praesenti ostendit relegendas, per quas ipsum beneficium usque nunc tempore conservatum esse cognovimus; sed per firmitatis studium petiit celsitudini nostrae, ut hoc circa ipso abbate eiusque post eum succedentibus confirmare deberemus. 5 Cuius petitionem⁴⁷² noluimus denegare, sed ita in omnibus praestitisse et confirmasse cognoscite. 6 Praecipientes enim ut sicut

⁴⁷¹ publicus rebus *T* publicus in rebus *T*^l

⁴⁷² petitionem *T* petitionem *T*^l

constat ab antecessoribus regibus vel domni genitoris⁴⁷³ nostri fuisse indultum, inspectas ipsas emunitates de omnibus rebus et facultatibus ipsius ecclesiae infra regna Deo propicio nostra Franciae, Italiae, in quibuslibet pagis⁴⁷⁴ et territoriis sub emunitatis nomine cum omnibus rebus concessis valeant possidere et dominare, et nulla requisitione nec ullum⁴⁷⁵ impedimentum a iudicibus publicis tam nostro tempore quam et succedentium regum exinde habere non pertimescunt, sed ut diximus, sub integra emunitate absque introitu iudicium in Dei nomen resedeant. 7 Et ut hec auctoritas firmior habeatur vel diuturnis temporibus conservetur, manu propria subter eam decrevimus roborare ac de anulo nostro iussimus sigillare. 8 Signum Karoli⁴⁷⁶ gloriosissimi regis. 9 Wigbaldus ad vicem recognovi⁴⁷⁷. 10 Et data decimo Kalendas Iunias anno 11^{mo} et 5^{to}«

2. 1 Anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Christi 874, inditione 6, mense Iunio, feria 6, quinta hora noctis, ostensum est signum in coelo. 2 Apparuit enim stella commatis in signum Arietis, fulgens quasi faculam, luxitque per dies 14. 3 In ipso vero anno domnus Ludovicus serenissimus augustus obiit mense Augusto feria 6, et Karolus rex Francorum ingressus est in⁴⁷⁸ Italiam cum multitudine magna, et obtinuit regnum anni 2. 4 In secundo vero anno quam ingressus est Italiam⁴⁷⁹, apparuit similiter mense Marcio stella commatis, parte occidentali in signum Libre, et luxit per dies 15, sed

⁴⁷³ uel genitoris *T* uel et domni genitoris *T*^l

⁴⁷⁴ ipsas – pagis *T in ras.*

⁴⁷⁵ nec nullum *T*

⁴⁷⁶ Caroli *T*

⁴⁷⁷ uicem radoni recognoui *T*

⁴⁷⁸ ingressus est in *T* ingressus in *T*^p

⁴⁷⁹ italia *T*

non tam prefulgida, quam illa quae primitus apparuit. 5 In ipso vero anno mortuus est Karolus imperator, et Karolusmannus rex Bagioariorum ingressus in Italiam cum infinita populi multitudine, et obtinuit regnum. 6 In proximo vero apparuit alium signum in coelo mirabile, pridie Nonos Ianuarii, cum esset coelum totum serenum, et iam aurora crebresceret, et⁴⁸⁰ apparuit lux inmensa, ut nobis visum est quasi duodecim momenta; et cum fuisset intervallum quasi punctum unum, auditum est tonitruum magnum in coelo, quod omnes qui audierunt et viderunt tam inmensum lumen, exterriti sunt et pavefacti.

3. 1 “Preclui apice apostolice dignitatis decenter predito, perspicuaque prosapia luculente ingenuitatis ineffabiliter precluenti, atque vasto dogmate sophiae rutilantis ac sempiternae sollerter instituto, 1a] domno Iohanni venerabili pape insignique patrono totius ecclesiae christiane religionis ac vere fidei, necnon auctori rectae credulitatis, 1b] quem Dominus post se dignatus est sublimare in sacratissimo suggestu Petri et Pauli principum apostolorum et cui rite commisit oves sacri gregis, 1c] Belegrimus humilis abbas cunctique fratres cenobitalem vitam ducentes in coenobio beatissimi Petri, prisco tempore structo fere alpes Sigusiae civitatis, 1d] quae est confinis Italiae, in loco qui nuncupatur Novalicium, a quodam patricio nomine Abbone, tempore scilicet Theoderici regis, 1e] et deinceps a Karulo imperatore cunctisque Romanorum principibus, videlicet consulibus patriciis et senatoribus, 1f] quin etiam ab universis ordinariis Romane ecclesiae, sacris litteris precepti et privilegii corroborato atque beatissimo Petro claviculario caelesti dicato; 1g] insuper, pro nefas! a dyra gente Sarracenorum illo superveniente funditus dissipata, 1h] sed rursum annuente gratia superni conditoris a quodam marchione

⁴⁸⁰ crebresceret *T*

Adhelbertus nomine, pater Berengarii regis qui dicebatur⁴⁸¹, feliciter restaurato in oppido quod dicitur Bremidum, iugem eternae famulationis et assiduae venerationis constantiam, continuamque in effabilium orationum seriem. 2 O clementissime pastor atque universae Eurupae⁴⁸² rector, doctrina vere ecclesiasticae sapientiae⁴⁸³, intimamus vestrae sanctitati ac clementiae nobilitatique⁴⁸⁴ ingenue, quod prescriptus marchio, qui restruxit monasterium in supradicto oppido, convocavit eo omnes monachos antiqui coenobii, qui a supervenientibus Sarracenis erant dispersi in diversis provinciis per alia monasteria, relinquens ibi non exiguum partem sui praedii. 3 Sed moderno tempore, quod ille alique sibi consimiles bonitate sancto concesserunt loco, alter insanus et inmani amentia detentus penitus abstraxit, nimirum marchio Arduinus, rapax lupus, latens sub imagine candide ovis, ingensque destructor ecclesiae Christi, ferme predictum destructum habet coenobium; nisi quod superest⁴⁸⁵, misericordia Dei tuaque clementia ac summa pietas nos famulos tuos respexerit. 4 Namque ut accepimus ab antiquis⁴⁸⁶ et venerabilibus eiusdem loci patribus, hoc coenobium semper fuit subditum defensionis pape Romani. 5 Quoniam quidem constructor et octor eiusdem reliquit ipsum dicioni eterni regis et gubernaculo clarissimi apostolici basilice cunctarum basilicarum excellentissimae,

⁴⁸¹ dicitur *T* dicebatur *T*^l

⁴⁸² erupę *T* europę *T*²

⁴⁸³ sapretę *T* sapientię *T*²

⁴⁸⁴ nobilitateque *T* nobilitatique *T*^l

⁴⁸⁵ quod est superest *T* quod superest *T*²

⁴⁸⁶ accepimus antiquis *T* accepimus ab antiquis *T*^l

inexplicabiliter deprecans illum atque suppliciter postulans, quod⁴⁸⁷ pro dilectione summe individueque Trinitatis, si aliquod infortunium casu eveniret abbati ipsius loci cum monachis, prelibatus papa, sicut pius et acer pastor defendit custoditque afabre gregem suum a laceracione atrocium ferarum, ita conservaret illos ubique et salvaret, succurreret eisdem ac subveniret ac a persecucione pravorum hominum⁴⁸⁸ eos liberaret. 6 Quapropter, sanctissime vates, competenter vestrae clemenciae benignitatem⁴⁸⁹ requirimus, suppliciterque propriam ingenuitatem vestri idalmatis flagitamus, ut pro summa veneracione cunctitonantis genitoris, qui condolens humanam propaginem esse dampnatam atque neci subiectam probro corruptelaque protoplasmatis, tradidit unigenitam prolem morti, quatinus reduceret⁴⁹⁰ famulum ad pristinum immortalitatis aeternaeque beatitudinis statum, dignemini nobis consulere, necne fauste cunctis in necessitatibus subvenire nostris, quoniam aut per vos veniet salus nobis post cosmi conditorem, aut omnino dimittemus locum istum. 7 Siquidem tanta est feritas praenotati marchionis, ut nemo nostrum permanere postest in eodem loco; quia omnes cortes vicosque et cuncta oppida, de quibus victus et vestitus nobis veniebat, totamque meliorem coenobii terram cum famulis eidem pertinentibus abstulit nobis, servis tuis. 8 Et nisi fuisset quidam vir praeclarus virtute, et inlustris propagine antiquae gentis, Samson nomine, qui prope metam felicitis vitae in pretitulato coenobio sumpsit habitum sacre religionis, concedens huic loco non minima portionem suae possessionis, minime haberemus unde spacium duorum

⁴⁸⁷ quo *T*

⁴⁸⁸ homini *T*

⁴⁸⁹ begnitatem *T* benignitatem *T'*

⁴⁹⁰ reduret *T* reduceret *T'*

mensium vivere quivissemus. 9 Denique quod nefas est dictu, dyrus marchio gestiens totum monasterium in suam redigere servitutem et in filiorum hereditatem, dicit se habere preceptum de eodem. 10 Quod frivolum est et mendosum. 11 Namque scimus, quod Lotharius regulus filius Ugonis regis, deceptus blandiciis fraudibusve sevi ducis ac ingenti amentia detentus, nescientibus Italis principibus nobisque omnibus ignorantibus, pro dolor! clam firmavit illud praeceptum, pro quo nobis sanctoque loco accidit omne malum. 12 Post quod factum divinitus ingenti plaga percussus, in ipsa ebdomada obiit mortem. 13 Quod praeceptum Otto piissimus imperator clementissimusque rector multarum provintiarum, veniens ad Italiam, interventu domne Adheleide uxoris suae gloriosissimae auguste, iamdicti Lotharii olim relictæ vidue, coram cunctis principibus suis, videlicet marchionibus episcopis commitibus et abbates, igne cremari fecit. 14 Post aliud⁴⁹¹ nobis rescribere iussit, quod propria manu firmavit. 15 Insuper cominatus est scelerato duci, ne amplius intromitteret se de prediis, cortibus, vicibus, oppidis, famulisque, naeque⁴⁹² de aliquibus rebus ipsius cenobii pertinentibus. 16 Quid plura? 17 Almus imperator ad propriam suae nativitatis provintiam rediens, confestim supranuncupatus marchio⁴⁹³ diris modis coepit affligere abbatem universosque coenobitas septies, abstrahens omnes res quas imperator benignus reddere monasterio fecerat, et multa insuper quae antea non abstulerat, seviens quod ausi fuimus proclamare ante sanctum imperium de malis quae nobis inferebat. 18 Ad ultimum reddens nobis aliquam particulam, sed

⁴⁹¹ alius *T* aliud *T'*

⁴⁹² namque *T* naeque *T'*

⁴⁹³ marchi *T* marchio *T*²

perexiguam, de prediis monasterii, compulit abbatem⁴⁹⁴ promittere promissionem indignissimam, quod deinceps non proclamaret se ante aliquam imperatoris presentiam de tali facto. 19 Quod scelus credimus condolere Omnipotentem trinum et simplicem, clavigerumque caelestem cum omnibus sanctis. 20 Quin etiam cupimus esse divulgatum⁴⁹⁵ presentiae vestrae maiestatis, quod aut per vestram benignitatem sanctus stabilis manebit locus et firmus, aut prorsus ab ipso Arduyno erit destructus et a nobis relictus; quod prohibeat rerum conditor! 21 Idcirco assiduis precibus minime desistimus fundere vota, ut vestras mittatis sanctissimas elementorum notulas sanctissimo imperatori, quae resignent illi, qualiter res gestae fuerint inter prescriptum marchionem et nostrum patronum; quoniam adeo ad nihilum sumus redacti, ut nemo nostrum neque palam audet inde verbum dicere neque ad cortem ire, ob metum iniqui hostis. 22 Insuper poscimus⁴⁹⁶ te, illum taliter supplicare, ut si gratiam Dei cupit habere eternumque imperium superni regis si gestit participare cum angelis, reddet abbati ac monachis totam tellurem⁴⁹⁷ ad ipsum coenobium pertinentem cum famulis ac rebus ibidem attinentibus, ac dicet effero comiti, quod si amplis intromiserit se de prediis ipsius monasterii, in perpetuum minime ipsum habebit amicum nec dominum. 23 Deinde supplices exoramus benivolam⁴⁹⁸ munificentiam vestrae ditionis, quatenus ex parte vestri et per vestros legatos talem illi transmittatis comiti anathemationem, quod si amplius contra voluntatem coenobitarum tenuerit

⁴⁹⁴ abbati *T*

⁴⁹⁵ divulgatum *T*

⁴⁹⁶ possumus *T* poscimus *T*^l

⁴⁹⁷ tellurem *T* tellure *T*²

⁴⁹⁸ beniuolentiam *T* beniuolam *T*^l

predia ipsius loci, condemnatus et anathematus permaneat in aeterno tartari igne. 24 Quod superest, manifestare ac promere gestimus summae maiestati vestrae, o prepotens presul universae sanctitatis et facundie, quod semper expectavimus, quo mundi plastes Dominus tribueret talem patronum apostolicae ecclesiae, qui ritu antiquorum patrum sanctam regeret ecclesiam, per quem salus ac recuperatio nostrae egestati⁴⁹⁹ veniret caelitus. 25 Quod credimus fore concessum. 26 Quandoquidem candida fama pervenit ad nostras aures, nuncians nobis famulis tuis, quod nec munere placatus neque timore perterritus usquam recesseris a veritate iudicii, quod est sanctissimum omnium rerum. 27 – Nec te latere volumus, sancte pater, quod quidam senex, sanctimoniam habitum ab infantia gerens in ipso coenobio, dum quadam nocte solito more intraret in ecclesiam causa orationis, repente insolitus sopor oppressit eum. 28 Qui, ut ipse refert, per visionem vidit quendam virum candidis vestibus indutum, in leva manu gerentem auream pugillarem; in dextera vero argenteam crucem; de qua ter percutiens caput ipsius senis a somno eum excitavit, precipiens illi, quo diceret cunctis fratribus, implorarent⁵⁰⁰ auxilium a Romano patrono. 29 Agnus Dei Christus, qui pro nostris sceleribus in cruce fuit positus, vos conservet per plurima seculorum curricula, amen.”

4.

5. 1 Post obitum domni Gotefredi abbatis, qui timore et amore Dei plenus fuisse refertur, cuius videlicet dominatum pacifice permansit⁵⁰¹ temporibus illis. 2 Nam vocante eum Dominus de ac instabili luce, Odilo quidam iuvenis Cluniacensis, nepos

⁴⁹⁹ egestate *T* egestati *T'*

⁵⁰⁰ imploraret *T*

⁵⁰¹ dominatum cuius pacifice permanserit *T* d. c. p. permansit *T'*

alterius Odilonis abbatis, abbatiam⁵⁰² nostram ab imperatore Chuonrado Rome⁵⁰³ illi confertur ad regendum. 3 Qui iuvenis tunc rudis a claustralibus exiens disciplinis, conspicit se tanti honoris sublimato cepit turbam militare sibi adherere, nonnullis prediis terrarum, unde sumptus veniebat monachis, illis vassis in beneficium⁵⁰⁴ tradidit; contra monachos vero et maxime in maioribus inpudenter insurgens⁵⁰⁵, ac contra eos sedule vexans. 4 Quid multa? 5 dum pueriliter cuncta agitur, ac nimium iocis praeoccupatur, curtemque domini sui imperatoris parvi pendens, cogitans ne quis⁵⁰⁶ posset ei extymplo obsistere: dat predictam abbatiam in beneficia cuidam Alberico Chumano episcopo. 6 Nam quidam sciolus necdum presul ita scripsit: 7 “Nam cum Heinricus moritur, / Caesar et alter oritur, / Tunc Bremetenses domino / Deviduantur proprio.” 8 Et iterum: “At Chumanorum pontifex / Chunrado multum serviens⁵⁰⁷ / Tantum aurum incanduit, / Promissio prevaluit.” 9 Itemque: “Cucullata milicia / Orruit hanc maliciam; / Hi sunt columbe filii, / Et serpentes discipuli. / 10 Nam ego regnum circui, / Et claustra multa fricui; / Sed nunquam vidi aliquos / Sic temperate callidos, / Ut Brementenses⁵⁰⁸ monachos, / Ostili fraude anichos⁵⁰⁹, / Spernentes iugum summere, / Quod regis datur munere.”

⁵⁰² odilonis abbatiam *T* odilonis abbatis abbatiam *T*^l

⁵⁰³ reme *T* rome *T*^l

⁵⁰⁴ beneficiis *T* beneficium *T*^l

⁵⁰⁵ insurgit *T* insurgens *T*^l

⁵⁰⁶ cogitans nobis ne quis *T* cogitans ne quis *T*^l

⁵⁰⁷ saliens *T* seruiens *T*^l

⁵⁰⁸ bremetensis *T* bremetenses *T*^l

⁵⁰⁹ anini *T* anichos *T*^l

6. 1 Data itaque abbatia est, sicut supra retulimus; unde abbas cum monachis non modice doluerunt. 2 Episcopus vero callide satis agens, protinus invadit abbatiam, ac famulos⁵¹⁰ iurare sibi fidelitatem compulit. 3 Et eis qui noluerunt metu⁵¹¹ suo, ab arva exierunt, relinquentes proprias domus. 4 Prudentiores namque monachi suo conspectui aliquando noluerunt se presentare; nam omne thesaurum auferentes⁵¹² secum occultaverunt. 5 Ipse igitur Taurinum veniens, egit arte callida cum marchione⁵¹³ Maginfredo et fratre suo Adalrico presule, datoque multo precio, ut abbatem caperet. 6 Quod et fecit⁵¹⁴. 7 Qui palam omnino nequivit facere quod optabat – timebat enim⁵¹⁵ cives ipsius civitatis – sed malum cetrinum ipsi dirigens, mandansque ut ad se veniret, et sic tradidit. 8 In crastinum autem convenientes omnes cives in unum, voluerunt abbatem eripere vi; sed predictus marchio cum turba militare prevaluit, interdicens illis, ne quid offenderent. 9 Episcopus vero secum abbatem sub custodia ducens, mancipavit illum mox in carcerem; ac non post multum fidelitatem illi faciens de abbatia, dimisit eum.
7. 1 In tempore⁵¹⁶ quo messis tunditur, idem ipse Cumanus episcopus Bremito venit, invasitque duos monachos, ut mitteret in custodiam, qui magni tunc apud Deum et

⁵¹⁰ abbatiam famulos *T* abbatiam ac famulos *T*^{*l*}

⁵¹¹ metu *T* motu *T*^{*l*}

⁵¹² offerentes *T* auferentes *T*^{*l*}

⁵¹³ marchiona *T* marchionae *T*^{*l*}

⁵¹⁴ quod hec et fecit *T* quod et fecit *T*^{*l*}

⁵¹⁵ autem *T* enim *T*^{*l*}

⁵¹⁶ Interea *T* In tempore *T*^{*l*}

seculum habebantur⁵¹⁷. 2 In nocte sequenti, dum cogitaret hoc nefas, sanctus Petrus ante stratum eius assistens inquit, 3 “Alberice, quo pacto vivere potes, qui tanta mala iniecisti loco meo monachisque?” 4 Ita agens et in inguine⁵¹⁸ percussit eum. 5 Qui statim cernens suam internitionem, cum redditur lux terre, proficiscitur. 6 Tamen optavit ibi mori et sepeliri. 7 Sed magno⁵¹⁹ timore capti, hoc ne fiat rogant; enimvero si hoc ageretur, vivi a potestatibus terrae illius detinerentur. 8 Ipsemet vero vectus in equibus semivivus abiit; mortuus denique est, antequam ad Cumanam perveniret urbem. 9 Dum exueretur vestibus, saraballa eius stercoribus labefacta reperta sunt. 10 Ipsi qui viderunt, testimonium prebuerunt, et adhuc supersunt, qui se vidisse confitentur. 11 Nam ipse sepissime testabatur, quod a quodam clerico barba et capite cano, qui sibi in eodem cenobio aparuerat, percussus sit; quem omnino intelligimus beatum fuisse. 12 Dignus quippe fuit tali morte, qui servos Dei et⁵²⁰ locum sanctum multis affecit calamitatibus.

8. 1 Post mortem huius quidam Teutonicus episcopatum suscepit, nomine Litikerius. 2 Hic contulit abbatiam domno Eldrado, reprobato Odilone⁵²¹. 3 His Eldradus vir bonus fuit, plenus dierum, crescens in senectute bona. 4 Demoravit abbatiam suam decem annos cum omni moderatione aequa paceque condigna. 5 Post circulum multorum⁵²² annorum mortuus est, et sepultus in pace. 6 Temporibus huius abbatis

⁵¹⁷ habebatur *T* habebantur *T^l*

⁵¹⁸ inguine *T* in inguine *T^l*

⁵¹⁹ magni *T* magno *T^l*

⁵²⁰ servos et dei locum *T* servos dei et locum *T^l*

⁵²¹ idolone *T*

⁵²² horum *T* multorum *T^l*

actum est miraculum quoddam, quod tacere nolumus. 7 In ebdomada sancte pasce, dum cantarentur vespere, quidam homo venit surdus mutusque et contractus, plenus demonibus. 8 Qui ingrediens templum vociferabatur, nihil dicens nisi tantum vocem dans ad sydera. 9 Post spatium unius hore concito gradu ad aram cucurrit sancti Petri, et amplexatus est eam; statimque erectus est, et vinculum linguae solutum est, et evomens cenulentum sanguinem, liberatus est per intercessionem sancti Petri a tot infirmitatibus. 10 Hoc vero nostris oculis vidimus, et testes sumus huius rei.

9. 1 Igitur notum facimus omnibus sanctae⁵²³ Dei ecclesiae fidelibus presentibus scilicet atque absentibus, de malo quod passum est monasterium Bremetense ab illo⁵²⁴ qui nuber abbas visus est, Oddo nomine. 2 Nam hic in quodam prelio percussus, magis causa timoris quam Dei veneratione ad monasterium Bremetense⁵²⁵ pervenit, ibique se Deo et sancto Petro atque domno Gezoni abbati monachum vovit. 3 Interim volventibus annorum curriculis, erat abbas illius loci senectute flebilis; volentibus cunctis fratribus necnon domno imperatore Heinrico se consentiente⁵²⁶, abbatiam alteri dedit. 4 Quidam frater monasterii deprecatus est abbatem, ut huic supradicto monacho Oddoni quendam obedientiam de Pollenti[a] subtus eum daret; qui precibus eius adquevit. 5 Illo namque tempore magna persecutio erat inter Ardoinum et Maginfredum⁵²⁷. 6 Quod sciens predictus monachus Oddo scilicet, abiit

⁵²³ facimus sanctae *T* facimus omnibus sanctae *T^l*

⁵²⁴ ab hoc illo *T* ab illo *T^l*

⁵²⁵ bremense *T* bremetense *T^l*

⁵²⁶ consentienti *T*

⁵²⁷ maginfredo *T* maginfredum *T^l*

Ardoinum⁵²⁸; postulatus est eum pecuniam dante⁵²⁹ atque pollicente, ut illum abbatem faceret de cella, unde prioratum habebat. 7 Marchio autem dixit, se non posse facere, quia pater suus dederat Bremetensi monasterio. 8 Tunc monos acephalus ait, 9 “Si mihi dederis abbatiam et contra abbatem meum tenere⁵³⁰ feceris, cartas patris tibi reddam.” 10 Tunc Ardoinus ita dixit ut fieret. 11 Statim quippe Iude pedagogus furatus est cartas, reddidit Arduino. 12 Nec mora, ipse marchio duxit secum Romam, obtulit maximam pecuniam pape, et dedit ei consecrationem. 13 Quo audito Bremetensis abbas grave pertulit; abiit ad domnum papam, retulit per ordinem, quomodo contra Deum et ordinem suum gesserat. 14 Tunc domnus papa cognita veritate, dato anathemate iussit, ut nec abbas fieret et in iussionem sui patronis rediret; deditque licentiam, ut quicumque vellet adiuvere eum, ex suo deposito liberam haberet facultatem et benedictionem. 15 Nec mora, abbas perrexit ad Maginfredum, petiit misericordiam de suo oberrato, ut per licentiam pape, si posset, eum quocumque ingenio caperet. 16 Interim Maginfredus preparat⁵³¹ se ad capiendum Leviathan; incepit⁵³² et perfecit. 17 Insuper omnibus modis iuravit ita dicendo: 18 “Ego Oddo monachus diebus vitae meae amplius Bremetensem abbatiam non accipiam, neque sine licentiam domni mei Gottefredi abbatis abbatiam nec prioratum habebo.” 19 Sic callide liberatus, oblitus sacramentum et omne firmamentum, ad priorem recursit delictum. 20 Ita se habuit, domnus imperator

⁵²⁸ abiit ardunium *T* abiit ad ardunium *T*²

⁵²⁹ dante *T* darente *T*²

⁵³⁰ teneri *T* tenere *T*^l

⁵³¹ maginfredus monachus preparat *T* maginfredus preparat *T*^l

⁵³² incipit *T* incepit *T*^l

Heinricus donec regnum venit. 21 Cognitis omnibus eius nequiciis, cunctis videntibus episcopis qui aderant, detestabilem sarrabaitam cepit, baculum fregit, atque superbum de sede deposuit; insuper ut nunquam de claustro exiret, firmiter precepit⁵³³. 22 Nec multum, cum fratribus permanens, inter eos discordiam ponens. 23 Hoc abbas vidit, illum abscedere maluit quam totam congregationem in precipitium mitteret. 24 Dedit ei unum prioratum, ut vel hoc sufficiens quiesceret. 25 Quo accepto nec quieuit, sed quicquid in ecclesia invenit, libros, calices crucesque⁵³⁴ atque thesaurum – de vino et pane non est numerus – omnia vendidit, maximam pecuniam fecit, Alrico episcopo Astensi dedit pro una abbacia⁵³⁵. 26 Sic res permansit. 27 Quieuit viventibus abbatibus istis Gezone, Gottefredo, Odilone, Aldrado. 28 Ultimo mortuo, abiit Cumensem episcopum Leuticherium; dedit, promisit, iureiurando spondit episcopo et clericis⁵³⁶, fidelibus et famulis inter omnes quingenti libras pro Bremetensi abbacia. 29 Qua recepta⁵³⁷, tulit, vendidit pro pecunia quam promisit, cruces, calices, coronas, texta evangeliorum, tabulas altaris, turribula⁵³⁸, quicquid de thesauro invenit – de pane, vino carneque lingua dicere non sufficit. 30 Insuper coegit, ut monachi iurarent sibi fidelitatem⁵³⁹, quomodo et laici faciunt. 31 Unus ex maioribus idcirco quia lamentatus est nunciis domni imperatoris, captus et posuit in carcerem; nec inde exeundi habuit facultatem, donec ipsemet dedit

⁵³³ precipit *T* precepit *T*^l

⁵³⁴ crucisque *T* crucesque *T*^l

⁵³⁵ abbatiam *T* abbacia *T*^l

⁵³⁶ spondit et episcopo clericis *T*

⁵³⁷ abbatiamiare cepta *T* abbacia quare cepta *T*^l

⁵³⁸ turribula *T*

⁵³⁹ iurarent fidelitatem *T* iurarent sibi fidelitatem *T*^l

sibi unum ex famulis, et fecit pro ipso sibi ipsi iurare fidelitatem. 32 Quicquid hic scriptum est, si⁵⁴⁰ quis probare voluerit, in veritate comperi et quomodo plus sit; nichil deerit quemadmodum hic legitur.

10. 1 Fruebatur interea bona ipsius abbatae, cum suis comedens ac distraens cuicumque poterat. 2 Nam in terrarum et diversarum opum acquisitione nullomodo studebat, interdicens nostris, ne acquirerent, ex suis autem totam replebat terram. 3 Erat enim plenus dolo et simulatione; monachos vero sibi subiectos omnino secularibus hominibus⁵⁴¹, maxime marchionibus, male diffamabat, ceu semet exaltans uti iustum; suis vero criminibus pessimis tamquam privignus apud seculares⁵⁴² criminabat. 4 Sicque⁵⁴³ factum est, dum filios velut criminosos denudat, immitatus Cham, qui verenda patris non operuit quin potius deridendo detesit, ut ipse magis postmodum in deterioribus⁵⁴⁴ et cenulentis laberetur factis. 5 Cum vero Deus suam contemplatus esset infidelitatem, obcecavit illum ut dignus fuerat, traderetque alteri clam ipsam abbatiā. 6 Quod et fecit, ergo cum periuriis et illicitis sacramentis, sine voluntate et consensu fratrum, cupiens exinde infinitam pecuniam⁵⁴⁵ accipere. 7 Unde credimus divino iudicio actum⁵⁴⁶, quod tanti honoris deinceps caruisset, dataque est alteri multo se meliori.

⁵⁴⁰ scriptum si *T* scriptum est si *T*^l

⁵⁴¹ ominibus *T*

⁵⁴² secularibus *T* seculares *T*^l

⁵⁴³ Sicut *T* Sicque *T*^l

⁵⁴⁴ interioribus *T* indeterioribus *T*^l

⁵⁴⁵ infinita pecunia *T*

⁵⁴⁶ aptum *T*

11. 1 Interea quid impiissimi tiranni Maximiani olim sit consecutum, breviter colligere placuit. 2 Cum dispositis insidiis genero suo Constantino mortem moliretur, deprehenso dolo apud Massiliam⁵⁴⁷ captus est; nec multo post strangulatus, teterrimo supplitio adfectus impiam vitam dignam mortem finivit. 3 Circa igitur hec tempora apud Maxiliam civitatem sepulchrum eiusdem Maximiani christianorum ingens persecutor inventum est. 4 Nam sicut nobis retulerunt qui interfuerunt, erat mirabiliter corpus eius intus et extra unctione⁵⁴⁸ balsami et alia nonnulla genera odoramentorum opido perfusum; corpus quoque eius totus integer, tetra pilo, caro candida, barba permaxima; ad caput vero eius pocula erat auro aurizo, plena balsami. 5 Ipse vero in locello plumbeo quiescebat, in quodam⁵⁴⁹ labro ex marmore candidissimo, cum literis aureis desuper scriptis. 6 Nam consilio Rainaldi archiepiscopi Arelatensis et ceteris fidelibus actum est, ut in mari magno cum totis labris iactaretur. 7 Nam diebus ac noctibus maris equora ibi videntur semper ardere, ubi iactatum est corpus eius.
12. 1 Hoc tempore Leodegarius archiepiscopus Vienensis vitam et mores, ortus et actus suorum antecessorum archiepiscoporum scribendo colligere curavit.
13. 1 Hoc tempore Lambertus rex apud Italiam regnabat; suoque tempore fuit comes Maginfredus, quem interfecit, necnon et Ammulus episcopus Taurinensis, qui eiusdem civitatis⁵⁵⁰ turribus et muros perversitate sua destruxit. 2 Nam inimiticiam exercens cum suis civibus, qui continuo illum a civitate exturbarunt; fuitque tribus

⁵⁴⁷ maxsiliam *T* massiliam *T*^{*l*}

⁵⁴⁸ unctionem *T*

⁵⁴⁹ quadam *T* quodam *T*^{*l*}

⁵⁵⁰ ciuitatibus *T* ciuitatis *T*^{*l*}

annis absque episcopalis chathedram. 3 Qui postmodum pace peracta reversus, et manu valida contus destruxit, sicut diximus. 4 Fuerat hec siquidem civitas cum demsissimis turribus bene⁵⁵¹ redimita, et arcus in circuitu per totum deambulatorios, cum propugnaculis desuper atque antemuralibus. 5 Siquidem prefatum regem idem episcopus a filio Maginfredi comitis⁵⁵², cum in silva venationi exerceretur et in gremio adolescentis somno oppresso obdormiret, dolo⁵⁵³ interfecit. 6 Post modicum autem aparuit illi quadam die diabolus in modum vulpeculae, cum equitaretur; quam perniciter insecutus est, sicut fatur popularis vulgus, in tantum ut ulterius non sit visus.

14. 1 His quoque diebus Wido serenissimus imperator regnum Longobardorum paucis obtinuit annis. 2 Circa hec tempora Rodulfus rex regnavit apud Italos.

15. 1 Carne itaque imperator Otto maiore mortuo, illico successit protinus in regno secundus Otto filius equivocus eius. 2 Migrato vero isto e seculo, tertius Otto in regno eligitur, qui in coniugium quandam sumens Grecam, filiam Constantinopolitani imperatoris; quorum paranimphus extitit archiepiscopus Arnulfus Mediolanensis⁵⁵⁴. 3 Hic cum Grecis quodam tempore bellum agens; in quo videlicet praelio captus cum ab ipsis teneretur, supra equore marino suspectus⁵⁵⁵ est ab ipsis, fore regem. 4 Quam suspitionem ipse cum suis, in quantum quibat, se regem abnegabat, sed suum fidelissimum et auricularem eius se fatebatur. 5 Dum autem ista et alia nonnulla

⁵⁵¹ demsissimis bene *T* demsissimis turribus bene *T*^l

⁵⁵² comiti *T*

⁵⁵³ oppresso dolo *T* oppresso obdormiret dolo *T*²

⁵⁵⁴ medio *T* mediolanensis *T*²

⁵⁵⁵ medio suspectus *T* mediolanensis hic – marino suspectus *T*²

huiusmodi litigando prosequerentur, insinuabant, ut nisi auro argentove quantum sui corpus aequae lance pensaret redimeret, non foret⁵⁵⁶ dimissurum. 6 Missa protinus relatio est⁵⁵⁷ ad reginam, quae ibi tunc proxima⁵⁵⁸ aderat, et insinuatum est illi omne rei eventum. 7 Que citissime plurimos ephebes misit iuvenes, feminali⁵⁵⁹ habitu indutos, cum mucronibus sub tunicis absconsis, qui videbantur ceu turba⁵⁶⁰ puellarum, ferentes duodecim scrinia uti plena ex auro, in quibus erant tria plena ex auro et argento, omnia vero alia plena erant lapidibus, firmiter clavibus obseratis. 8 Cumque ad litus pervenissent maris, aperta sunt illa⁵⁶¹ tria scrinia in quibus erat aurum, et proferentes sermocinabantur. 9 Tunc unus ex suis militibus ei dure collocutus est, reminiscens illi priorum bellorum victorias. 10 Subito excutit se cum magna vi a⁵⁶² manibus illorum de nautula, in qua tenebatur, ita ut manus illorum plene relictæ essent diploide quo indutus fuerat, et misit se in aqua. 11 In qua cum strenuissime⁵⁶³ nataretur, duo fortissimi illorum perneciter insecuti sunt illum. 12 Unus autem illorum, qui illum insecuebantur⁵⁶⁴ velotius, cum vellet regem manibus capere, rex iniecta manu suffocat illum extimplo, atque alteri aequae faciens, evasit.

⁵⁵⁶ fore *T* foret *T*²

⁵⁵⁷ relationem *T* relatio est *T*^l

⁵⁵⁸ maxima *T* proxima *T*^l

⁵⁵⁹ misit feminalibus *T* misit iuvenes feminali *T*^l

⁵⁶⁰ turbam *T*

⁵⁶¹ ista *T* illa *T*²

⁵⁶² ab *T*

⁵⁶³ In qua strenuissime *T* In qua cum strenuissime *T*^l

⁵⁶⁴ insecuebatur *T* insecuebantur *T*^l

16. 1 Circa hec tempora Heinricus imperator regnum excipiens Italicum, deiecto Arduino, cum quo sui ante dimicarunt et victi fuerunt, et quem post triduum⁵⁶⁵ in Sparronis castrum annum obsederat integrum, quem capere minime potuit; sed⁵⁶⁶ post modicum monachus efficitur. 2 Ille vero regno privato, Heinricus mox illum arripuit, tenuitque eum viginti annos. 3 Hic multe prudentie fuit, scientia namque litterarum strenuissime imbutus. 4 Marchiones autem atque episcopos, duces et comites, necnon abbates⁵⁶⁷, quorum prava erant itinera, corrigendo multum emendavit; marchiones autem Italici⁵⁶⁸ regni sua calliditate capiens et in custodia ponens. 5 Quorum nonnulli fugam lapsi, alios vero post correctionem ditatos muneribus dimisit. 6 Hic dum vixit⁵⁶⁹, multum amator nostre abbatiae extitit hac custos cum coniuge sue auguste.
17. 1 Defuncto quoque Heinricho, Chuonradus per omnia litterarum inscius atque idiota regnum arripuit Longobardorum. 2 Qui nonnullas subiugavit ecclesias, episcopia quoque necnon abbatias. 3 Inter quarum nostra a proprio domino orbata, ut supra retulimus, sub iugo Cumani episcopi tradita est lucri causa a predicti Chuonrado. 4 Cuius quoque filius Benjamin, qui alio nomine appellatur Heinricus imperator, bene pericia litterarum imbutus, a profano dominio quo premebatur abstrahens et in proprio statu id est regio erigens, interdixit maledictionibus in priori praecepto quod nobis de eandem abbatiam fecit, ut nullus rex nec imperator ultra subiugationi alicui eam traderet.

⁵⁶⁵ trienum *T* triduum *T*²

⁵⁶⁶ se *T* sed *T*^l

⁵⁶⁷ necnon et abbates *T* necnon abbates *T*^l

⁵⁶⁸ italici *T* italicum *T*^l

⁵⁶⁹ fixit *T* vixit *T*^l

CHAPTER 3: THE “QUOTED” *WALTHARIUS* SECTION OF THE *CHRONICLE*

The following two chapters will be a close study of the section of the *Chronicle* that relates to the hero Walter of Aquitaine. In this chapter I focus on the “quoted” section, and in the following on the “paraphrased” section.

Introduction

I begin with summaries of the Walter narratives in the *Waltharius* and in the *Chronicle*, since these will facilitate discussion of the similarities and differences in the treatments. I then sketch out some of the main themes that I will treat in more detail in the following sections.

According to the *Waltharius*, Walter of Aquitaine and Hildegund of Burgundy are betrothed as children by agreement of their fathers, kings of those lands.⁵⁷⁰ When Attila and the Huns threaten the regions, Walter, Hildegund and another boy, Hagan (a Frankish noble), are given by their fathers as hostages to Attila; the children grow up among the Huns. Walter and Hagan become mighty warriors, victorious for the Huns in many battles; Hildegund becomes a trusted administrator to Attila’s queen. After Hagan learns of the death of the Frankish king who had sent him as a hostage to Attila, he makes his escape; Walter then devises a plan for his own and Hildegund’s escape as well. The pair

⁵⁷⁰ For this summary, I have used Kratz’s translation, *Waltharius and Ruodlieb*.

take with them a horse, equipment for the journey, and a portion of the royal treasury. In their flight, Walter and Hildegund are discovered by Hagan and the new king of the Franks, Gunther. Gunther demands that Walter give up all the goods which the fugitives brought with them from the Huns; Walter refuses. There ensues a series of single combats between Walter and each individual sent against him by Gunther, and Walter is victorious in each combat. Then Gunther and Hagan together ambush and attack Walter, resulting in a final battle. All three men are grievously injured; Hildegund serves them all wine and the men jest. They then go their separate ways home, Gunther and Hagan back to Francia, and Walter and Hildegund to Aquitaine.

The *Chronicle* begins its Walter narrative in an entirely different way. At the beginning of Book II, chapter 7, the chronicler introduces a character into his history of the monastery, “a certain monk, a gardener, Walter by name.”⁵⁷¹ This Walter is famous and born of noble blood, and the chronicler quotes eight lines of verse written in elegiac couplets, and which are not part of the extant *Waltharius* epic.⁵⁷² These lines describe Walter as a conquering warrior who has attained the heights of fame and glory. The chronicler goes on in this chapter to describe how this warrior, now “afflicted by age” and “mindful of the weight of his sins,” travels the world to find a place to do penance. Walter has a clever plan to determine the discipline and devoutness of each place he goes, and he finally finds the place he has been seeking: the monastery of Novaliese. Chapter 8 is a brief summary of the history of Walter and the other hostages, encapsulating the first ninety-two lines of the *Waltharius*. Then in Chapter 9 the chronicler reports what “a

⁵⁷¹ Translations mine, unless otherwise indicated.

⁵⁷² These lines are not otherwise attested. For discussion of these couplets, see A. Bisanti, *La leggenda di Waltharius e I distici “Uualtarius fortis” nel “Chronicon Novaliciense”*, *Bolletino di Studi Latini* 40/1 (2010) pp.76-85.

certain poet says about [the hostages],”⁵⁷³ and begins the *Chronicle*’s “quoted” section II.9.3-185, corresponding to W.93-578. This “quoted” section covers the events of Walter’s time with the Huns, his escape with Hildegund, and his combat against Gunther/Hagan. Chapter 9 concludes, lines 186-200, with fifteen sentences paraphrasing the final battle between Walter and the two remaining Franks, Gunther and Hagan. They are not able to defeat Walter, and the last thing they see is a flask of wine hanging from Walter’s saddle as he rides away. In II.10 is a description of the monastery’s system of transporting goods to and from market; the chapter ends with an account of thieves stealing all the monks’ goods as the monks return to the monastery. The chronicler details in II.11 Walter’s battle with these thieves and his victory over them. Walter’s death and his burial at Novalese are the subject of II.12. The chronicler claims to know of Walter’s relics and those of Walter’s grandson, and he reports a miracle done via these relics.

In comparing the two Walter summaries, it is clear that the chronicler in his telling has taken the events of the *Waltharius* and has set them into an entirely new narrative. He has changed and adapted the elements of the story and has made them the centerpiece of a new epic, the narrative of Walter the monk. The *Waltharius* epic begins *ab ovo*, with the information about Attila’s incursions into the territories, resulting in the giving of hostages. The epic continues in strict chronological order, ending with Walter’s return home and his public announcement that he and Hildegund will marry. The chronicler, paradoxically, does not present the epic story chronologically. Instead, he follows a common epic convention—though one *not* followed by the author of the *Waltharius*—and begins his account *in medias res*, thereby “out-epic-ing” the epic. The

⁵⁷³ Not the same poet previously quoted

chronicler's reader is introduced first to the aged "monastic" Walter searching for his spiritual home (II.7-9.2). The story events of the *Waltharius* poem then become the "flashback" of narrative concerning the chronicler's "epic" Walter (II.9). The chronicler then brings the reader back to the monastic narrative, recounting Walter's further adventures and heroic deeds in service of Novaliese (II.10-12). In addition to his refashioning in epic style of the events of the poem, the chronicler has deliberately changed not only the events of the Walter saga but also the chronological arrangement, announcing to the reader in a clear, structural way his epic intent.

These obvious changes made by the chronicler to the events of the Walter saga are immediately visible, but he also makes more subtle changes to the narrative's characters. The events of the story are adapted within the framework of his new epic, the "monastic" section of the *Chronicle*, while the characters are re-worked within the "quoted" section. Given these changes, it is possible to say that even while the chronicler more or less directly "quotes" the story of the epic hero in II.9, he is also considering his own larger epic narrative of the aging warrior monk. The chronicler, therefore, has two Walters to reconcile and amalgamate into one integral new hero, the monk of Novaliese. He must retain the events and entities in the narrative of the *Waltharius*' epic hero while re-casting or re-figuring them suitably to fit the *Chronicle*'s epic of Walter. There are actions and situations in the epic, therefore, which can be seen as problematic for the chronicler's overall view of his new Walter. As is evident from the summaries, the *Waltharius*'s child hostage Walter becomes an adult hero to the Huns, is loyal to their (and his) king, Attila, and is a mighty leader in battle on their behalf. He is a loving fiancé to his betrothed, Hildegund, who in turn has her own relationship with, and responsibilities and duties to,

Attila's queen, Ospirin. When Walter and Hildegund flee, they are subsequently discovered by the Frankish king Gunther, and Walter's former comrade Hagan. Walter is obliged to engage in single combat with a succession of warriors, and he emerges victorious. In the *Chronicle*, however, Walter is introduced as a monk, and he is meant to be a soldier for the monastery of Novalese, not for the pagans; he is meant to serve God, not Attila (or even his own desires); for the elderly Walter of the *Chronicle*, any former personal and physical love for Hildegund is now subjugated to his love for God. The single combats of the epic are gone: In the *Chronicle*, Walter fights alone against the odds, and he wins each time. And finally, the Walter who flees the place of his childhood has now become the Walter who travels the world to reach his final resting-place of Novalese. The chronicler's dilemma with the two Walters, then, is how to retain the epic story and hero while shifting the story from its secular, temporal focus to one that is sacred and eternal.

In viewing the *Chronicle*'s Walter narrative set beside that of the epic poem, and employing a line-by-line comparison between the two versions of the story, it seems clear that the *Chronicle*'s treatment of the poem is not merely a summary or excerpt or copy,⁵⁷⁴ but has a narrative pattern of its own, and that the chronicler has made deliberate changes in adapting the poem. A this "quoted" section of the *Chronicle* follows the *Waltharius* itself almost word-for-word as well as line-for-line, it is therefore of interest to note where the chronicler has made changes to the original text, whether he is changing it, expanding it or omitting parts of it. These alterations mainly concern the interpersonal

⁵⁷⁴ Wickham, "...including an epitome of (and extracts from) the Latin heroic poem *Waltharius*." p. 61; Geary, "...the *Waltharius*, long sections of which were copied directly into the Novalesian *Chronicon*." p. 72; Alessio, "Il *Valtario* viene qui in parte trascritto alla lettera, in parte compendiato sbrigativamente" p.77, n. 9.1.

relationships of the main characters in the poem, their behaviour towards one another, and their motivation. Because this section of the *Chronicle* follows the *Waltharius* so closely, those changes that the chronicler has made deserve special attention. Throughout this discussion, I will refer to these changes made by the chronicler:

- Alteration: a single word, or the word order, in a line from the *Waltharius*, that has been changed in the *Chronicle*.
- Bridge Phrase: a passage from the *Waltharius* that has been condensed into a few words in the *Chronicle*.
- Expansion: a word, or a few words, not in the *Waltharius*, but added in the *Chronicle*.
- Omission: anything from a single word to several lines which are in the *Waltharius*, but not included in the *Chronicle*.

Once we allow the premise that the chronicler has made specific changes to re-cast the original epic, the *Chronicle*'s deviances from the poem then seem not just paraphrase but intentional accomodation to the chronicler's new image of his hero. Changes made by the chronicler can then be further analyzed according to the methods used, and further explored for thematic patterns of change. My discussion focusses on the following patterns of relationships:⁵⁷⁵

- that between Walter and the Huns or their king, Attila
- that between Hildegund and the Huns or their queen, Ospirin
- that of Walter and Hildegund to each other

⁵⁷⁵ The relationships explored here sometimes overlap, e.g. Walter's relationship with Hildegund may also have a bearing on Walter's own secular or holy nature; the problem of Walter's seeking glory with the Huns may lead to questions about Walter's motivations, etc.

- that of the human and holy elements within the hero himself

The location of the epic poem within the *Chronicle's* Book II, in chapter 9, is bookended by the story in chapters 7 and 10 of the hero's becoming a monk at Novalese. Weary with age and repentant of his sins, says the chronicler, the hero searches for a monastery in which to do penance. The *Chronicle's* story of Walter begins as the old warrior tests various monasteries and chooses Novalese. Then the author takes us back to Walter's life as the hero of the epic poem, and after completing his retelling of the *Waltharius* he resumes the story of the hero's life in the monastery. After choosing Novalese and becoming a humble gardener there, Walter is then sent out by his abbot to confront some thieves who have stolen the monastery's goods. In the service of Novalese, the aging warrior re-creates his former heroic existence (even riding his old heroic steed) and defeats the robbers. Having connected Novalese with Walter's heroic past and his retirement, the author completes the hero's connection to the monastery, reporting that Walter is also buried there. In addition, Walter's grandson is also buried there, tying the hero even more closely to the monastery.

As the entry point into the passages of the *Waltharius* that seem to have suggested to the chronicler a need for alteration, and into his methods of dealing with these passages, it is instructive to begin with a single word in a line that has already been noted for its ambiguity within the *Waltharius*.⁵⁷⁶ The line in question is W.552, given below in context (bold and underline mine). The ambiguity in this line, as noted by Kratz, concerns the antecedent of the relative pronoun *Qui* and the following demonstrative

⁵⁷⁶ Kratz, *Waltharius, and Ruodlieb*, New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1984, p. 203, note to line 552; for a fuller discussion, see Kratz, *Mocking Epic: Waltharius, Alexandreis and the Problem of Christian Heroism*.

Hic. Walter is responding to Hildegund's request to be killed by his hand rather than suffer capture by their enemies:

Tum iuvenis "Cruor innocuus me tinxerit?" inquit
Et "Quo forte modo **gladius** potis est inimicos
Sternere, tam fidae si nunc non parcit amicae?
Absit quod rogitas, mentis depone pavorem.
Qui me de variis eduxit saepe periclis,
Hic valet hic hostes, credo, confundere nostros."
Waltharius 548-553

Then the young man said, "Shall innocent blood stain me?"
and, "How does my **sword** have power to lay low my enemies
if it does not spare my faithful beloved now?
Begone, that which you ask, set aside your mind's fear.
That which has led me often out of diverse dangers,
It, I believe, has the power here to confound our foes."⁵⁷⁷

This is a crucial passage, as it expresses Walter's *credo*. But in what, exactly, does Walter believe? In his note Kratz points out the reference to 2 Corinthians 1:10:

qui de tantis periculis nos eripuit, et eruit: in quem speramus quoniam et adhuc eripiet.

Who delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver: in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us.⁵⁷⁸

In the preceding line of the biblical passage, however, the antecedent of *qui* is clear; it is God.

Sed ipsi in nobismetipsis responsum mortis habuimus, ut non simus fidentes in mortuos, sed in **Deo**, **qui** suscitavit mortuos: **qui** de tantis periculis nos eripuit, et eruit: in quem speramus quoniam et adhuc eripiet. (2 Corinthians 1.9-10)

But we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in **God**, **who** raiseth the dead: **Who** delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver: in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us.

⁵⁷⁷ Translations of the *Chronicle* are mine.

⁵⁷⁸ Biblical translations from *The Vulgate Bible*, ed. Swift Edgar et al., Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010-2012).

The biblical antecedent, though it may very well be recalled by a reader of the epic, is no longer explicitly stated in the *Waltharius*. As Kratz has pointed out, with the antecedent removed, the *qui* in W.552 could refer either to God (a potentially familiar but unstated *Deus*) or to Walter's sword (*gladius*, explicitly stated in W.549). Does Walter believe therefore that deliverance comes from God or from his own sword? Kratz's claim that the passage is ambiguous – and he contends that it is intentionally so – is in fact supported by the chronicler's (successful) attempts to resolve any uncertainty about Walter's belief. In the *Chronicle* the above *Waltharius* passage is altered in three important ways, with two omissions and an expansion:

cui Waltharius:

“Absit quod rogitas, mentis depone pavorem.

Ipse Dominus **qui me de variis sepe eduxit periculis**

Ille valet hic hostes, credo, confundere nostros.”

Chronicle II.9⁵⁷⁹

Walter said to her:

“Begone, that which you ask, set aside your mind's fear.

The Lord Himself who has led me often out of diverse dangers,

He, I believe, has the power here to confound our foes.”

The chronicler omits *Waltharius* verses 548-550 entirely, summing up Walter's response to Hildegund with a bridge phrase, *cui Waltharius*. Along with these omitted lines goes even the possibility of *gladius* as the antecedent of *Qui*. As I will discuss later, there are other possible reasons for the omission of these lines as a whole, but to the point here, the relative pronoun (and the following demonstrative) would now be left alone grammatically after the preceding lines are taken out. The chronicler then fixes not only

⁵⁷⁹ The manuscript of the *Chronicle* does not present the “quoted” text in verse format. I present the *Chronicle* text in line format here for easier visual comparison with the relevant *Waltharius* lines.

the grammatical problem but any problem of Walter's belief by expanding his version of verse 552 to include a definite subject and antecedent – *Ipse Dominus*. The *Chronicle's* Walter has been and will be kept from danger not by his sword, but by his God. The chronicler then echoes the *Hic* of the *Waltharius's* next line with an even stronger *Ille*, but by this point in the text there is absolutely no doubt – grammatical or otherwise – remaining in the passage. Even this change, however, from the grammatically proximate *Hic* (Walter's sword?) of the *Waltharius* to the (again, grammatically) further-removed *Ille* (God) of the *Chronicle* separates even further the ambiguous, temporal antecedent of the *Waltharius* from the divine antecedent of the *Chronicle*. Also, only four lines previous to the ones under discussion, Hildegund, at the approach of an enemy force, asks Walter to kill her – to cut off her head⁵⁸⁰:

545 “Obsecro, mi senior, **gladio** mea colla secentur,”

“I beg of you, my lord, cut off my head **with your sword**,”

The *Chronicle's* text of this line is exact in every particular, except for one omitted word:

“Obsecro, mi senior, mea colla secentur,”

“I beg of you, my lord, cut off my head,”

Missing from the *Chronicle's* line is the same *gladius* that will be omitted again to avoid the ambiguity surrounding Walter's belief. These changes suggest at the very least that the original passage was problematic not just to modern scholars, but also to the chronicler, who took pains to remove the possibility of confusion. The chronicler intends to make Walter the holy warrior of Novalese, not to depict him as the secular hero of the poem; there must be no doubt concerning Walter's motivation. In this and in other

⁵⁸⁰ Kratz, “let my throat be slit” p. 29

changes throughout the “quoted” section of the *Chronicle*, the chronicler sets the narrative stage for Walter’s later career as a monk in Novalesse. Once we recognize the specific types of changes the chronicler has employed to bring the secular story more in line with his portrayal of Walter as a monastic hero, it becomes possible to notice similar methodology in his treatment of other passages and lines.

This initial look at the changes made in the *Chronicle* reveals that the chronicler keeps the major narrative events of the epic while re-forming its characters. This also holds true in how the chronicler deals with Walter’s time living with the Huns. As stated above, even though the chronicler will change the character of the secular, epic hero to that of a monastic, spiritual one, some elements of Walter’s role in Attila’s service must remain, even within the new framework starring the warrior for Novalesse. The *Chronicle*’s Walter remains mighty in battle, but his leadership among the Huns is downplayed. He is still loyal to Attila, but ultimately will be faithful only to God. The chronicler, therefore, while retaining almost all of the events of the epic narrative, changes elements of the battle scenes and downplays Walter’s leadership, making Walter’s activities as a Hun more compatible with his activities as a monk. The chronicler adapts the passages from the *Waltharius* that deal with these topics by using his same methods of alteration, omission, and expansion.

Walter as Warrior

The most obvious change in the *Chronicle* to Walter’s role as a Hun is the omission of lines dealing with the subject in the *Waltharius*. Of the fifty-eight lines in the *Waltharius* that recount Walter’s military service and attendant glory while among the

Huns, twenty-two lines are omitted by the chronicler. In addition to the sheer number of line omissions, Walter's role as leader of the Huns is diminished in the *Chronicle* by the elimination of specific vocabulary. All direct references to Walter as a "leader" of the Huns are omitted, and the *Chronicle's* Huns no longer imitate Walter, and only rarely, or obliquely, follow him. The words *dux* and *ductor* are omitted when referring to Walter, with a lone exception to be discussed later. Also omitted by the chronicler are the three instances in the *Waltharius* of the word *triumphus*, and a three-line section describing a triumphal procession is condensed into one subordinate clause. Even when the *Chronicle's* Walter is victorious in battle, he no longer exults in his victories with the Huns as did the Walter of the *Waltharius*. The *Chronicle's* Walter does not lead the Huns in triumph after a victory, nor does he himself triumph. This Walter is allowed one modest laurel of victory, but otherwise, all mentions of triumphing are omitted. In omitting the vocabulary of leadership and triumph, the chronicler changes the personal character of Walter as a warrior: the Walter of the *Chronicle* is meant to be the epic hero of the *Waltharius*, but he is not meant to be the same human being.

The fifty-eight lines in the *Waltharius* involving Walter's military might and actual battles while among the Huns comprise a number of discrete sections, as follows:

W.103-109 describe the military prowess of both Walter and Hagan, and Attila's trust in them. In W.121-122 Walter continues to lead the Huns in battle although Hagan has successfully escaped from Attila. There is the introduction of a new military threat in W.170-172, and lines W.173-208 describe the ensuing battle and Walter's might and victory in that battle. W.209-218 is the account of Walter's triumph and his return to Attila's court. By omitting so many of these lines, the chronicler directly diminishes the

importance of Walter's military relationship with the Huns, simply by giving it less attention. Walter's military role is also de-emphasized in other ways, however, so it is of value to examine further not only the twenty-two omitted lines, but also the lines that have been altered, and to note in what portions of the military sections all of these lines occur.

Of the seven lines W.103-109, which describe how Walter and Hagan excelled in military arts as boys and grow to be first among the Huns, the *Chronicle* quotes five precisely, with significant changes to only two of them, W.108-109:

W.103
Qui simul ingenio crescentes mentis et aevo
CN
Qui simul ingenio crescentes mentis et evo

W.104
robore vincebant fortes animoque sophistas
CN
robore vincebant fortes animoque sophistas

W.105
donec iam cunctos superarent fortiter Hunos
CN
donec iam cunctos superarent fortiter Hunos

W.106
Militiae primos tunc Attila fecerat illos
CN
Milite primos tunc Attila fecerat illos

W.107
sed haud inmerito quoniam si quando moveret
CN
sed non inmerito quoniam si quando moveret

W.108
bella per insignes isti micuere triumphos
CN
bella per insignes regionum illarum, isti ex pugna victoria micabant

W.109
idcircoque nimis princeps dilexerat ambos
CN
ideoque princeps ille quidni dilexerat illos?

These changes, however, show immediately the ways in which the chronicler re-casts Walter's role both with the pagan forces and the king. In W.108 there is both an omission and an expansion by the chronicler. This is the first of three examples when specific vocabulary of "triumph" is omitted, *triumphos*. With this omission the adjective *insignes* loses its noun, and becomes a substantive. This changes the translation of the line from "they excelled through/because of their **notable triumphs**" to "they excelled throughout/among **notable (men)**." The expansions in this line, *regionum illarum* and *ex pugna victoria* make it clear that the "notable men" are the Huns, and that the boys have indeed excelled in battle. The first mention of triumphing (and with it any attendant pride?) is gone, however, and the chronicler has merely re-stated the fact that the boys excel the other Huns in military might.

Another implication to consider in the *Chronicle*'s omission of "triumph" vocabulary is that of the Christian shading of the word. The world of the *Chronicle* is far removed from that of Roman military triumphs, and the word has taken on a new meaning. "Triumph" in the Christian world was used for the spiritual "triumph," or passion of Christ on the cross, and was also used of martyrs joining the ranks of the blessed.⁵⁸¹ In earlier Christian texts, there is still the meaning of a military triumph, but

⁵⁸¹ All references to Latin dictionaries are to the online "Database of Latin Dictionaries" [electronic resource] (Turnhout : Brepols, 2005-); I follow the abbreviations employed there for, e.g., Blaise Patristic, Blaise Medieval, DuCange, Souter, etc. References are always to the word in question (there being no pagination in the online version).

the word was already beginning to have implications of “moral victory.”⁵⁸² Without being able to ascertain the chronicler’s specific intent, it seems that either way there are reasons for avoiding the language of triumph: if it is military in tone, then the future monastic Walter should not be enjoying its proud and celebratory nature with pagans; if it is spiritual in nature, then it would not be used of pagans at all.

The following line, W.109, expresses the affection that Attila has for the two boys, and this line in the *Chronicle* is also altered by an omission and an expansion:

W.109
idcircoque nimis princeps dilexerat ambos
CN
ideoque princeps ille quidni dilexerat illos?

The changes to this line bring a change to the tone of the line. The removal of the word *nimis* (“exceedingly, over-much”) tempers the esteem that Attila has for the two boys; and the expansion of *quidni* (“and why should he not?”) offers a rationalization even for the now-tempered affection of the king. This tempered affection now has had a change in focus, from the direct statement of the king’s feelings to the excellence of Walter (and the other hostages). The *quidni* also removes the affection from a statement of fact, and makes it a grammatically and narratively weaker invitation to opinion or assumption. The chronicler will continue to temper Walter’s personal relationship both with the Huns and with the king himself, as will be seen in lines to follow.

The next of Walter’s battle scenes in the *Waltharius* is omitted in the *Chronicle*:

W.121-122
Waltharius tamen ad pugnas praecesserat Hunos
et quocumque iret, mox prospera sunt comitata.

⁵⁸² Blaise Patristic.

As mentioned above, Walter's leadership among the Huns is constantly downplayed in the *Chronicle*, either by omission or change. These two lines of the *Waltharius*, omitted in the *Chronicle*, emphasize that Walter is not only the leader of the Huns, *praecesserat*, but is responsible for their success, as things turn out well under his leadership, *prospera sunt comitata*. Also of note in this small omission is the fact that at this point in the story Walter is leading the Huns alone now; even though Hagan has made his escape, Walter "nevertheless," (*tamen*) leads the Huns to battle. Since the background of the treaties between the fathers of the hostages and Attila has been so compressed in the *Chronicle*, it would not necessarily register to the reader that Hagan has legal and ethical cause to make his escape, since his former king has died and the treaty that had been forged with Attila is therefore now essentially null. Walter has no such cause to flee, but that is not particularly evident even in the *Waltharius*, and is only briefly mentioned in the *Chronicle* (II.9.10) and the *tamen* of the epic only emphasizes the fact that Walter has remained although Hagan has left, for reasons that to the reader may not be entirely clear.

In W.170-172, there is the explanation of a new military threat to the Huns by a tribe that the Huns had previously defeated; although the language of these lines changes somewhat in the *Chronicle*, the essential message is the same. It is also worth noting, in addition to the overall diminution of Walter's military role, that even when the *Chronicle's* Walter does fight for Attila and the Huns, he fights in response to a specific threat, that of a resurgent conquered tribe. With mention of his former battles and triumphs with the Huns omitted, this battle foreshadows the monastic Walter's battle for Novalesse against the robbers: he goes into battle only when commanded, and fights only when necessary.

W.170

Venerat interea satrapae certissima fama

CN

Moxque satrapae illi certissima venerat fama

W.171-172

Quandam quae nuper superata resistere gentem

Ac bellum Hunis confestim inferre paratam.

CN

de quandam gentem quondam ab Hunis devictam

super se iterum hostiliter ruentem

The next three lines of the *Waltharius* are kept verbatim in the *Chronicle*, and form a contrast with those after, which are omitted.

W.173

Tunc ad Waltharium convertitur actio rerum.

CN

Tunc ad Waltharium convertitur actio rerum

W.174

Qui mox militiam percensuit ordine totam

CN

Qui mox militiam percensuit ordine totam

W.175

et bellatorum confortat corda suorum

CN***

et bellatorum confortat corda suorum

All of the information in the above three lines is perfectly acceptable, even for a warrior who will later become a monk. In face of threat, military affairs are handed over to Walter; he reviews his battle lines and soothes the hearts of his men. The three *Waltharius* lines following, which are omitted in the *Chronicle*, offer a direct comparison between what the chronicler is willing to leave in, and what he decides to take out.

W.176-78

hortans praeteritos semper memorare triumphos

promittensque istos solita virtute tyrannos

sternere et externis terrorem imponere terris.

Walter's "comforting" his men's hearts, *confortat corda suorum*, is retained, but the *Chronicle*'s Walter doesn't then "exhort" his men (the participle *hortans* of the *Waltharius* is omitted); again, mention of triumphing (and of Walter's former battles) is left out with the omission of *praeteritos...triumphos* (W.176). In this passage is the second mention of triumphing in the *Waltharius*, and both have been omitted in the *Chronicle*. Also gone with this section is Walter's promise to his men to slaughter tyrants -- as he has done before! (*solita virtute*) -- and to impose terror on the land. These omitted lines give the reader an idea of what kind of warrior the *Chronicle*'s Walter will not be: he will not personally slaughter anyone on behalf of the Huns, and he certainly will not impose terror. In the *Chronicle*, the warrior Walter never actively kills anyone until he fights for the monastery. As will be seen, he deals destruction when fighting for the Huns, and his enemies fear him and fear death at his hands, but the references to Walter as an active killer for the Huns are omitted. As a side note, the omission of these three lines above ensures that when the *Chronicle* returns to the account of the action, it is indeed "without delay," *nec mora*.

W.179

Nec mora, consurgit sequiturque exercitus omnis

CN

nec mora consurgit sequiturque exercitus omnis

In W.179 is found one of the few times that the army of the Huns ever "follows" Walter, and the line certainly encompasses the suggestion that Walter is indeed their leader. With the omission of the previous three lines, however, the army is now following the man who has "comforted their hearts", not the one who will "slay tyrants

and impose terror.” The reader is aware, of course, that Walter is a military leader getting ready to lead his men into battle, and the Huns do follow him. The way in which the chronicler has arranged these two lines together, however, omitting the intervening three, changes their tone considerably, although both lines are quoted exactly from the *Waltharius*,:

et bellatorum confortat corda suorum
nec mora consurgit sequiturque exercitus omnis
(W.175 and 179)

The army of Huns is now following not just a military leader, but a spiritual one.

W.180-81
Ecce locum pugnae conspexerat et numeratam
per latos aciem campos digessit et agros.
CN
Et ecce locum conspexerat pugnae et numeratam
per latos aciem campos

The *Chronicle* omits only half of one line, W.181, but even that omission changes Walter’s role in the battle. The *Waltharius*’s Walter has spied out the site for the battle (*locum pugnae conspexerat*) and has arrayed his battle line throughout the chosen location, (*et numeratam / per latos aciem campos digessit et agros*). With the half line omitted, along with its main verb (*digessit*), the *Chronicle*’s Walter has viewed the battle site and the ranks that are already arrayed throughout the fields (*locum conspexerat pugnae et numeratam / per latos aciem campos*).

The following lines, W.182-195, are repeated almost verbatim in the *Chronicle*:

W.182
Iamque infra iactum teli congressus uterque
CN
Iamque congressus uterque infra teli iactum

W.183

constiterat cuneus; tunc undique clamor ad auras
CN

constiterat cuneus tunc utique clamor ad auras

W.184

tollitur, horrendam confundunt classica vocem
CN

tollitur horrenda confundit classica voce

W.185

continuoque hastae volitant hinc indeque densae
CN

continuoque hastae volitant hinc indeque densae

W.186

Fraxinus et cornus ludum miscebat in unum
CN

Fraxinus et cornus ludum miscebat in unum

W.187

Fulminis inque modum cuspis vibrata micabat.
CN

Fluminis inque modum cuspis vibrata micabat

W.188-91

Ac veluti boreae sub tempore nix glomerata
spargitur, haud aliter saevas iecere sagittas.
Postremum cunctis utroque ex agmine pilis
absumptis manus ad mucronem vertitur omnis;

W.192

Fulmineos promunt enses clipeosque revolvunt
CN

Fulmineos promunt henses clipeosque revolvunt

W.193

concurrunt acies demum pugnamque restaurant.
CN

inde concurrunt acies et postmodum pugnam restaurant

W.194

Pectoribus partim rumpuntur pectora equorum
CN

Ibique pectora equorum partim rumpuntur pectoribus

W.195

sternitur et quaedam pars duro umbone virorum.

CN

sternuntur et quasdam partes virorum duro umbone

These lines are general epic battle description: weapons clash; horrid noises are heard everywhere; spears fly; spear tips flash like lightning. After the omission of the epic simile in lines W.188-91, the description resumes with the clash of swords and shields, horses crashing into one another and men laid low. Walter himself does not reenter the scene until W.196, at which point he rages in battle and cuts down whatever is in his path:

W.196

Waltharius tamen in medio furit agmine bello

CN

Waltharius tamen in medio furit agmine bello

W.197

obvia quaeque metens armis ac limite pergens.

CN

obvia quaeque metens armis hac limite pergens

W.198

Hunc ubi conspiciunt hostes tantas dare strages

CN

Hunc ubi conspiciunt hostes tantas dare strages

W.199

ac si praesentem metuebant cernere mortem

CN

ac si presentem metuebant cernere mortem

W.200

et quemcumque locum seu dextra sive sinistra

CN

et quemcumque locum seu dextram sive sinistram

W.201

Waltharius peteret cuncti mox terga dederunt

CN

Waltharius peteret cuncti mox terga dederunt

Even so, the object of Walter's rage, which he "cuts down in his path," is a neuter "whatever" (*obvia...quaeque*), not a masculine "whomever", and there is no specific or detailed description of Walter actually killing any particular human being. The enemy see him and they turn and flee. The chronicler now omits seven lines of battle scenes, after quoting exactly, or nearly exactly, twenty lines on the same subject. The idea that the chronicler may be retaining Walter's Christian virtues and omitting his pagan behavior is further supported by the omission of these lines, W.202-208. As we have seen before in the respective passages describing the battle preparation, comparing retained and omitted lines offers insight into what characteristics the chronicler is willing – and unwilling – to attribute to his hero. Before going on to the omitted passage, it is helpful to see where we left off:

W.200

et quemcumque locum seu dextra sive sinistra

CN

et quemcumque locum seu dextram sive sinistram

W.201

Waltharius peteret cuncti mox terga dederunt

CN

Waltharius peteret cuncti mox terga dederunt

Before the omission, therefore, the *Chronicle's* Walter is attacking, and the enemy are fleeing. In the *Chronicle*, the narrative will cut straight from the enemy running away to Walter wearing a laurel crown of victory and going back to the palace. Note the difference in the Walter of the *Waltharius*. In the seven lines omitted by the chronicler, the enemy not only turn and run, but there is no mention of their weapons; they have

defensively turned their shields behind them and the reins of their horses are loose.

These lines of the *Waltharius* that the chronicler omits describe the enemy in a helpless, unarmed flight, and describe Walter as a savage killer, even more so than the pagans themselves.

W.202-208
et versis scutis laxisque feruntur habenis.
Tunc imitata ducem gens maxima Pannoniarum
saevior insurgit caedemque audacior auget,
deicit obstantes, fugientes proterit usque
dum caperet plenum belli sub sorte triumphum.
Tum super occisos ruit et spoliaverat omnes.
Et tandem ductor recavo vocat agmina cornu

Emphasizing how greatly they now overpower their fleeing enemy, the Huns are called a mighty race (*maxima gens Pannoniarum*) and in their actions they imitate their leader Walter (*imitata ducem*). These points stand out because in the *Waltharius* it is by following and imitating Walter that the Huns rise to new savagery and atrocity (*saevior insurgit caedemque audacior auget*), suggesting that even Huns become more savage as they emulate Walter and follow his direction. Under his leadership they destroy those they have cut down and despoil everyone until “at last,” after pillage and plunder, their leader Walter calls them back (*Et tandem ductor...vocat agmina*). There is no quarter for those who flee. The third mention of triumph is omitted (*plenum belli...triumphum*); the term of honor granted to Christian martyrs is denied to pagans slaughtering a helpless enemy. In this passage is made clear Walter’s personal leadership and responsibility for the slaughter of a fleeing and unarmed enemy, responsibility and leadership that are found nowhere in the *Chronicle*.

With the changes in this passage, the chronicler brings Walter's motivation and his actions more in line with the hero who will become a monk: Walter is not the military leader of pagans, although he is mighty in battle; Walter comforts his men, but doesn't exhort them to prideful, pagan triumph or to the atrocities of battle; and in the *Chronicle's* version he fights only in response to an active threat. Walter fights heroically and valiantly against this threat, but he is not the savage leader of the *Waltharius*, slaughtering those who flee, or despoiling the fallen.

By a combination of omission and a bridge clause, the chronicler changes the next lines, W.209-211, to the point that Walter is no longer even the leader of the military triumphal procession resulting from the Huns' victory. Similar to the chronicler's omissions of the previous three instances of triumphing vocabulary, he now compresses the *Waltharius's* three complete lines of triumph into one clause:

W.209-211

ac primus frontem festa cum fronde revinxit
victici lauro cingens sua tempora vulgo
post hunc signiferi, sequitur quos cetera pubes.

CN

Cumque ex victoria coronati lauro Waltharius cum Hunis reverteretur

The sequence of the triumphal procession in the *Waltharius* passage is that Walter is the first (*primus*) to celebrate by garlanding his brow, and after him follow the signifers and then the rest of the army (*cetera pubes*). Walter is the subject of the active verb *revinxit* and the active participle *cingens*, and the army follow him (*sequitur*). The occasion is festive (*festa*) and public (*vulgo*). In the *Chronicle*, however, Walter is no longer the "first" (*primus*) of the Huns, his leadership once again diminished or deleted altogether. Walter's garland has lost its modifier; it is no longer festive, and with the omission of

vulgo Walter no longer celebrates a public triumph. In contrast with the active verbs of which Walter is the subject in the *Waltharius*, the *Chronicle*'s Walter simply "returns," (*reverteretur*)⁵⁸³ with the rest of the Huns. The *Chronicle*'s plural modifier *coronati*, not found in the *Waltharius*, now refers to the entire group of the pagan army. All of them are crowned with the laurel of victory, and although Walter is the subject of *reverteretur*, he is no longer "singularly" crowned. Even this watered-down event of the *Chronicle* is relegated to a subordinate *cum* clause. The main verb of the sentence is no longer the festive garlanding and ordered, public procession of a triumph with Walter at its head, but a modest return home of the entire army.

The chronicler continues to re-cast Walter's role even in the description of this homecoming. Lines W.212-214 are omitted in the *Chronicle*:

W.212-14
 Iamque triumphali redierunt stemmata compti
 Et patriam ingressi propria se quisque locavit
 sede, sed ad solium mox Waltharius properavit.

This omitted passage is worthy of a closer look because of its vocabulary, rife with the possibility of double, Christian meaning. Without this double meaning, the translation is as follows:

And now, bound with triumphal garlands, they returned.
 Once in the homeland, each went to his dwelling place,
 But Walter hastened to the royal throne at once.⁵⁸⁴

In keeping with the pattern already discussed, the chronicler omits the language of "triumph," with its possible Christian connotations of martyrdom. With the attendant words *stemma*, *patria*, and *solium*, the Christian overtones become unmistakable. This

⁵⁸³ Both active and deponent forms of the verb are found.

⁵⁸⁴ Kratz, p.13.

meaning is now emphasized by the word choice for “garland” (*stemma*), a word which is also used, in Christian contexts, in relation to the “garland” or diadem of the martyrs, or to that of the apostles.⁵⁸⁵ *Patria* also carries the double meanings of secular homeland and celestial or eternal “home.”⁵⁸⁶ When considering the language of “triumph,” it seems that the chronicler found it inappropriate either for Walter to celebrate it secularly, or for the Huns to be involved with it spiritually. Likewise, whether the word *patria* is considered secular or spiritual, the *Chronicle*’s Walter has nothing to do with it in this passage laden with potential Christian meaning. Attila’s kingdom is not Walter’s earthly *patria*, and the Huns have no place in a spiritual *patria*. In this passage, therefore, the Huns of the *Waltharius* are returning home with triumphal garlands of victory, but one could certainly envision a reader of the monastic *Chronicle* aghast at pagans crowned with the diadem of martyrs, entering a “heavenly home.” In the last line of the passage Walter goes immediately to the *solium*, Attila’s “royal throne.” *Solium*, however, may also carry heavily Christian significance, with meanings of “reliquary, shrine;”⁵⁸⁷ it can be used to describe “episcopal dignity,”⁵⁸⁸ and the “throne of God.”⁵⁸⁹ On a more prosaic level, the omission of W.214 removes not only the event of Walter’s hastening,⁵⁹⁰ but also removes the fact that he is hastening to the king’s presence. In the *Chronicle*’s

⁵⁸⁵ Blaise Patristic.

⁵⁸⁶ Blaise Patristic; Souter; Du Cange.

⁵⁸⁷ Souter

⁵⁸⁸ Blaise Medieval

⁵⁸⁹ Blaise Patristic

⁵⁹⁰ As will be discussed throughout, the Walter of the *Chronicle* rarely hastens or flees, and the omission of these particular *Waltharius* lines also removes the verb *properavit*, one of the many times the chronicler avoids such language.

sequence, Walter arrives home, is greeted by palace attendants, and gets down from his horse. Only then does he head inside; there is no idea of Walter hurrying to see the king.

W.215-16

Ecce palatini decurrunt arce ministri
illius aspectu hilares equitemque tenebant
CN
mox palatini ministri arcis
ipsius laeti occurrerunt equitemque tenebant

As noted, with the omission of the previous lines W.212-214, the *Chronicle*'s Walter comes home with the rest of the Huns, and is greeted upon his arrival by palace attendants. Even this response to Walter and his arrival has been changed by the chronicler, again with the result of diminishing Walter's relationship with the Huns. First the chronicler immediately de-emphasizes the entire scene by removing the word *Ecce*, and substituting *mox*. There is no longer the injunction for the reader to pay attention to this particular scene, "Look!"; there is merely the sequential time word, "next," suggesting the natural, somewhat bland progression of Walter's arrival, followed by attendants from the palace coming to meet him. The activity of the *Chronicle*'s scene changes as well; when the palace ministers do come to greet Walter, they no longer "run down" from the palace (*decurrunt*), "delighted at the sight of him" (*illius aspectu hilares*). In the *Chronicle*, they merely meet him (*occurrere* instead of *decurrere*). To keep the meaning of his new main verb intact, the chronicler also changes the noun meaning "palace," shifting the case from ablative (*arce*) to genitive (*arcis*) to align with the verb shift of the ministers running down "from" the palace; now those who meet Walter are the ministers "of" the palace. The overall response of the Huns is equally tempered in the *Chronicle*, as the chronicler describes them as *laeti* (happy) for no specified cause, changed from *hilares* (delighted) for a stated reason. This diminished

emotion, with the removal of the causal ablative *aspectu*, is no longer even necessarily at the sight of Walter; the cause for their happiness is now unstated – the outcome of the battle? the return of the army? – and Walter has been effectively removed as the reason for their joy. The retained genitive *illius/ipsius* also loses its force once *aspectus* is removed from the line. The Huns are no longer delighted at the sight “of him;” the only nouns now available in the *Chronicle*’s “line” to connect to the genitive are *eques* – they hold “his” horse – or *arx* of the previous line:

mox palatini ministri **arcis**
ipsius laeti occurrerunt equitemque tenebant

soon the palace attendants **of the citadel**
itself happily met [him] and held [his] horse

In either case, however, the action of the entire passage in the *Chronicle* is much more staid: there is no special attention drawn to the scene; attendants merely meet Walter instead of running to him; everyone is generically happy, not elated or delighted specifically at Walter’s return; the attendants hold Walter’s horse. After the diminution of the emotion and activity in the passage, the remainder of the scene progresses almost verbatim between the two narratives:

W.217
donec vir sella descenderet inclitus alta
CN
donec vir inclitus ex alta descenderent sella

W.218
Si bene res vergant tum demum forte requirunt
CN
Quique demum forte requirunt si bene res vergant

W.219
Ille aliquid modicum narrans intraverat aulam

CN

Qui modicum illis narrans intraverat aulam

As Walter climbs down from the saddle, they ask how it went; he tells them a bit, and heads inside. And so ends the account of Walter's military career with the Huns, both in the *Chronicle* and in the *Waltharius*.

There are two later passages in the *Waltharius* and the *Chronicle* which refer to Walter's military might with the Huns. The first is when Attila is trying to find someone – anyone – to go in pursuit of Walter after his escape. Even with the king's promise of a reward, no one of any rank is willing to undertake the charge of bringing back such a victor:

W.408

Sed nullus fuit in tanta regione tyrannus

CN

Sed nullus in tam magna regione fuit inventus tyrannus

W.409

vel dux sive comes seu miles sive minister,

CN

dux sive comes seu miles sive minister

W.410

qui, quamvis cuperet proprias ostendere vires

CN

qui quamvis proprias ostendere cuperet vires

W.411-12

ac virtute sua laudem captare perennem

ambiretque simul gazam infarcire crumenis

CN

Omitted

W.413-14

Waltharium tamen iratum praesumpserat armis

insequier strictoque virum mucrone videre.

CN

Waltharium aliquando iratum presumpserit armis

insequi

W.415

Nota equidem virtus, experti sunt quoque quantas

CN

Nota siquidem virtus eius fuerat facta prope omnibus terrae habitatoribus.

W.416-418

Incolumis dederit strages sine vulnere victor.

Nec potis est ullum rex persuadere virorum

Qui promissa velit hac condicione talenta.

CN

omitted

After the description, retained in the *Chronicle*, of the men who refuse to go after Walter, even though each would wish to show off and attain glory, the first lines omitted from this passage are W.411-412:

ac virtute sua laudem captare perennem
ambiretque simul gazam infarcire crumenis

And by his courage capture everlasting fame
And wish as well to stuff his money-bags with treasure,⁵⁹¹

As so often, however, one of the lines, W.411, contains several words with possible Christian overtones, *virtus...laus...perennis*, that are not allowed to remain when referring to pagans. While a Hun might capture fame along with Walter, the Christian shadings of the line suggest in addition earning eternal praise for one's virtue.

Lines W.416-418 are also omitted by the chronicler, perhaps because they are a repetition of those a few lines earlier, W.408-410, in which the men are listed who do not come forward to claim Attila's reward. Another possibility, however, is that the chronicler is leaving out a reminder of the savagery of the pagan Walter who came through a battle unscathed after cutting down an unarmed enemy. At any rate, the chronicler's previous line rounds off the thought and completes the sentence before the

⁵⁹¹ Kratz, p. 23

omission of the next three lines. Instead of those who have knowledge of Walter's savagery in battle, *experti sunt quoque quantas / ...dederit strages*, the *Chronicle's* expansion of the line puts the emphasis on Walter's *virtus*, which had been evident to the inhabitants of the land:

Nota siquidem virtus eius fuerat facta prope omnibus terrae habitatoribus.

There are three noteworthy changes in the *Chronicle's* rendition of this expanded line. Though in line W.411 the word *virtus* was omitted when referring to Huns, Walter's *virtus* not only is retained, but has been grammatically expanded from the subject of an unstated verb to the subject of a main verb in an expanded sentence, *nota...virtus eius fuerat*. Walter's *virtus* is on account of his deeds, (*facta*), and is no longer equated with military victory (or the capture of a fugitive). The virtue of the *Chronicle's* Walter is now known not just to those knowledgeable of his military capability (*experti*), but to nearly everyone in Attila's kingdom (*prope...omnibus terrae habitatoribus*). Taking again the Christian overtones into account, the use of *virtus* also tinges Walter with spiritual, angelic qualities,⁵⁹² with the power to perform miracles.⁵⁹³ The added pronoun (*eius*) specifies Walter as the owner of these qualities. With the expansion of this line, and the omission of the following three, the impression is left of Walter as a hero of virtuous deeds, not as a victor in slaughter.

The final passage having to do with Walter's military reputation as a Hun is near the end of the *Chronicle's* "quoted" section of the *Waltharius*, when Hagan is attempting to dissuade King Gunther from pursuing Walter:

⁵⁹² Souter

⁵⁹³ Blaise Patristic

W.519

“Unum dico tibi, regum fortissime, tantum.

CN

“Unum tantum verbum dico tibi regum fortissime.

W.520

Si totiens tu Waltharium pugnasse videres

CN

Si toties tu Waltharium pugnasse videres

W.521

atque nova totiens quotiens ego caede furem,

CN

quotiens ego nova caede furem

W.522

numquam tam facile spoliandum forte putares.

CN

numquam tam facile spoliandum forte purares.

W.523

Vidi Pannonias acies cum bella cierent

CN

Vidi Pannonias acies cum bella agerent

W.524

contra Aquilonares sive Australes regiones.

CN

contra Aquilonares sive Australes regiones.

W.525

Illic Waltharius propria virtute coruscus

CN

Illic Waltharius propria virtute chruscus

W.526

hostibus invisus, sociis mirandus obibat.

CN

hostibus invisus sociis mirandus obibat

W.527

Quisquis ei congressus erat mox Tartara vidit.

CN

Quisquis ei congressus erat mox Tartara vidit.

This passage of the *Waltharius* is kept almost in its entirety and nearly verbatim by the chronicler; there is no diminution by the omission of lines. These retained lines, however, echo many of the *Chronicle*'s "requirements" of the retentions in earlier passages. Again, Walter rages in slaughter, *Waltharium...caede furentem*, but is not named as a specific killer. There is plundering done, but it is within the context of Hagan's advice to Gunther that Gunther should not think of despoiling Walter, *numquam tam facile spoliandum forte putares*. Walter is not the plunderer here; this is not the description omitted in the earlier passage of the Huns despoiling their fleeing enemy under Walter's leadership. Again, there is no specific mention of Walter at the head of the Hun army; it is the Huns as a group, their battle lines, whom Hagan has seen waging war (*Vidi Pannonias acies cum bella agerent*). The chronicler's Walter is a mighty warrior resplendent (*choruscus*) again with his innate heroic virtue (*propria...virtute*). As noted in the previous discussion of the word, *virtus* carries with it the Christian idea of the miraculous. This concept of miracle is bolstered in the next line as Walter goes forth "hated," *invisus*, by his enemies, but "wondrous," *mirandus*, to his allies. As pointed out before, Walter never actively kills anyone in the *Chronicle*'s "quoted" sections of the *Waltharius*, he more tamely "met" them (*congressus erat*) in battle. Those whom Walter meets in battle "soon see Tartarus," *mox Tartara vidit*; the phrase is both a euphemism which removes Walter from the killing, and a fitting end for pagans. In this final mention of Walter's military service with the Huns, therefore, the reader once again views the *Waltharius*'s account of Walter's military career through the lens of the Christian traits retained throughout in the monastic narrative.

In the context of the overall diminution of Walter's military role and leadership in the *Chronicle*, it is worth noting that the only time that the chronicler does retain a reference to Walter as "leader" is in a passage that has no military overtones at all. As part of Walter's scheme to escape he was, by his own design, the "leader" of a previous night's banquet, and the revelers seek out their *ductor* the next day to thank him:

W.360

Sed postquam surgunt, **ductorem** quique requirunt,
CN
Sed postquam surgunt, **ductorem** quique requirunt.

W.361

Ut grates faciant ac festa laude saluent.
CN
Ut grates faciant hac festa laude saluent.

W.362

Attila nempe manu caput amplexatus utraque
CN
Attila nempe utraque manu caput amplexatur,

W.363

Egreditur thalamo rex, Walthariumque dolendo
CN
egrediturque thalamo ipse rex; Waltharium dolendo

W.364

Advocat, ut proprium quereretur forte dolorem.
CN
advocat, ut proprium quereret forte dolorem.

The chronicler, after avoiding all mention of Walter as a military leader of the Huns, at last allows the term to be applied to Walter only as the giver of a banquet, a sort of *magister bibendi*. In both the *Waltharius* and the *Chronicle*, the reader has been made aware that the banquet was part of an elaborate scheme to allow Walter and Hildegund to make their escape (Walter's instructions, lines W.261-286). When the Huns look for their "leader" the next day to thank him for the banquet, therefore, they are looking not

for a military leader, but for the generous host who was responsible for the party. In addition, because all previous references to Walter as “leader” of the Huns have been omitted by the chronicler, there is no pattern of vocabulary to suggest that Walter is even the “leader” intended in this passage. As there is no stated antecedent, King Attila could actually be the *ductor* they’re seeking, not Walter. The narrative to this point has left Walter and Hildegund in the middle of their escape; the scene shifts to the next day in the palace, the Huns look for their “leader,” and the next stated subject is the king, who then looks for Walter. This reading is supported by the chronicler’s expansion of a conjunction, *-que* and the intensifier, *ipse* in W.363, both of which grammatically suggest the sequential progression of the Huns looking for Attila, and then in turn [Attila] himself looks for Walter:

W.363
 Egreditur thalamo rex, Walthariumque dolendo
 CN
 egrediturque thalamo ipse rex; Waltharium dolendo

Even if, however, one still reads the antecedent of *ductorem* as Walter, the fact remains that the *Chronicle*’s Walter is only called a *ductor* when he is essentially the “leader” of a banquet, and by extension, a “leader” taking charge of his own escape; he is never the military “leader” of the Huns.

Walter, Attila and Ospirin

It has already been discussed that in both narratives, after Hagan leaves Attila’s kingdom to return home, Walter stays and continues his leadership of the Huns (W.121-22). In the *Waltharius* there follow forty-seven lines which relate the attempts of Attila

and his queen, Ospirin, to convince Walter to stay and not to follow in Hagan's footsteps (W.123-169). The lines of the *Waltharius* passage are almost equally divided: nineteen lines (W.123-141) concern the "pitch" that the queen and king make to Walter to entice him to stay with the Huns and to ensure his loyalty, and the remaining eighteen (W. 142-169) contain Walter's response to the royal couple. Of this passage, in the *Chronicle* there are two instances of six-line passages from the *Waltharius* that have been condensed by the chronicler into a "bridge" phrase, and only fifteen of the forty-seven *Waltharius* lines have been retained in the *Chronicle* in any form; the remaining thirty-two lines have all been omitted. Although the manuscript of the *Chronicle* does not present the text in verse form, viewing the texts beside each other illustrates that the *Chronicle's* rendition of this section also remains fairly equally divided, with eight "lines" devoted to the royals' offer, and seven "lines" given to Walter's response.

As illustrated in other passages, the chronicler gives information about his monastic Walter both through what he omits from the *Waltharius* as well as what he retains from it. In the *Chronicle's* version of this passage, almost all language concerning Walter's service to, and friendship with, the king has been omitted. Just as we have seen a diminution of Walter's role as a warrior for the Huns by sheer reduction of lines, in this section we likewise will see a diminution of Walter's relationship with the king and queen just by the reduction of lines in which they interact:

W.123-128

Ospirin elapsum Haganonem regia coniunx
attendens domino suggestit talia dicta
"Provideat caveatque, precor, sollertia regis
ne vestri imperii labatur forte columna
hoc est, Waltharius vester discedat amicus
In quo magna potestatis vis extitit huius;"

CN

Ex cuius discessum rex cum regina
multum dolentes Waltharium retinere
nitentes

W.129 “nam vereor, ne fors fugiens Haganonem imitetur	CN ne forte simili exitu illum ammittentes
W.130-135 idcircoque meam perpendite nunc rationem: cum primum veniat, haec illi dicite verba: ‘servitio in nostro magnos plerumque labores passus eras ideoque scias, quod gratia nostra prae cunctis temet nimium dilexit amicis. Quod volo plus factis te quam cognoscere dictis.	CN rogare illum coeperunt
W.136 Elige de satrapis nuptam tibi Pannoniarum	CN ut filiam alicuius regis satrapis pannoniarum summeret sibi uxorem
W.137 et non pauperiem propriam perpendere cures.	
W.138 Amplificabo quidem valde te rure domique	CN et ipse ampliaret illi rure domosque.
W.139-144 nec quisquam, qui dat sponsam, post facta pudebit,	
W.145 his instiganti suggestibus obviis inquit	CN Quibus Waltharius talia respondit verba:
W.146-149 “Vestra quidem pietas est, quod modici famulatus causam conspicitis. Sed quod mea segnia mentis intuitu fertis, nusquam meruisse valerem. Sed precor ut servi capiat verba fidelis:	
W.150 Si nuptam accipiam domini praecepta secundum	CN “Si nuptam,” inquit, “accipiam secundum domini preceptum
W.151 vinciar in primis curis et amore puellae	CN In primis vinciar curis et amore puelle
W.152 atque a servitio regis plerumque retardor;	

W.153 aedificare domos cultumque intendere ruris	CN Aedificare domos cultumque intendere ruris.
W.154-57 cogor et hoc oculis senioris adesse moratur et solitam regno Hunorum impendere curam. Namque voluptatem quisquis gustaverit, exin intolerabilius consuevit ferre labores.	
W.158 Nil tam dulce mihi quam semper inesse fideli	CN Nil ergo mi senior tam dulce mihi quam semper tibi inesse fidelis
W.159-164 obsequio domini; quare precor absque iugali me vinclo permitte mean iam ducere vitam. Si sero aut medio noctis mihi tempore mandas, ad quaecumque iubes, securus et ibo paratus. In bellis nullae persuadent cedere curae nec nati aut coniunx retrahentque fugamque movebunt.	
W.165 Testor per propriam temet, pater optime, vitam	CN teque optime deprecor pater per propriam vitam
W.166 atque per invictam nunc gentem Pannoniarum	CN atque per invictam gentem Pannoniarum
W.167 ut non ulterius me cogas sumere taedas.”	CN ut non ulterius me cogas sumere taedas.”
W.168-169 His precibus victus, suasus rex deserit omnes Sperans Waltharium fugiendo recedere numquam.	CN Cumque haec dixisset, sermones statim deserit omnes. Sicque rex deceptus, sperans Waltharium recedere numquam.

The first section of the passage, lines W.123-128, is mostly omitted, and is bridged in the *Chronicle* by a two-line phrase. In the *Waltharius* Ospirin realizes that in the wake of Hagan's departure Walter might also be tempted to leave. In this situation she takes the initiative by going to the king to advise him, and is the first to express concern over the possibility of Walter's flight. As would any woman giving advice to a very powerful man, Ospirin expresses her worry and her advice obliquely as something which the king's "wisdom" should "provide and have a care for":

W.123-128	CN
Ospirin elapsum Haganonem regia coniunx attendens domino suggestit talia dicta "Provideat caveatque, precor, sollertia regis ne vestri imperii labatur forte columna hoc est, Waltharius vester discedat amicus In quo magna potestatis vis extitit huius;"	Ex cuius discessum rex cum regina multum dolentes Waltharium retinere nitentes

This omission could be in response to the fact that there is a possible repetition of this information in later lines, since the chronicler does retain Ospirin's speech of W.369-79 when the Huns discover that Walter and Hildegund indeed have fled:

W.369	CN
Ospirin Hiltgundem postquam cognovit abesse Nec iuxta morem vestes deferre suetum, Tristior immensis satrapae clamoribus inquit: "O detestandas, quas heri sumpsimus escas! O vinum, quod Pannonias destruxerat omnes! Quod domino regi iam dudum praescia dixi, Approbat iste dies, quem nos superare nequimus. En hodie imperii vestri cecidisse columna Noscitur, en robur procul ivit et inclita virtus: Waltharius lux Pannoniae discesserat inde,	Ospirin vero regina, hoc illi nomen erat, postquam cognovit Hildegunde abesse nec vestem deferre iuxta suetum morem, tristior satrape immensis strepens clammoribus dixit: "O detestandas quas heri sumpsimus, escas! O vinum, quod Pannonias destruxerat omnes! Quod domino regi iam dudum prescia dixi, Approbat iste dies, quem nos superare nequimus. Hen! hodie imperii nostri cecidisse columpna Noscitur; hen robur procul ivit et inclita virtus, Waltharius lux Pannoniae discesserat inde;

Hiltgundem quoque mi caram deduxit
alumnam.”

Hildgundem quoque mi karam deduxit
alumpnam!”

Looking through the lens of previous insights into the methods used in the *Chronicle*, however, it is possible to see a familiar pattern in this omission, the continued diminution of the relationship between Walter and the Huns. There are two further diminutions in the chronicler’s adaptation of this section: the diminished role of Queen Ospirin herself, and the diminished human characteristics of the Huns.

The first, immediate reduction of the queen’s role in the *Chronicle* is that she is unnamed. In the *Waltharius*, Ospirin is named at the beginning of line 123, but in the *Chronicle* she remains unnamed until the “repetition” of W.369. Then, when he does name her, the chronicler has to explain via an expansion that this is the queen’s name, since his reader to this point has no idea who “Ospirin” may be:

W.369
Ospirin Hiltgundem postquam cognovit
abesse

CN
Ospirin vero regina, hoc illi nomen erat,
postquam cognovit Hildegunde abesse

The other major diminution of the queen’s role in the *Chronicle* is that the queen no longer speaks on her own. Similar to the way in which Walter’s role *vis-à-vis* the Huns is re-cast and diminished throughout the *Chronicle*’s adaptation of the *Waltharius*, the chronicler’s Queen Ospirin no longer is the first to recognize the political implications of the situation and bring them to the attention of the king. Ospirin is no longer quoted, as in the direct speech of the *Waltharius*; she is no longer speaking “providently” and “advisedly,” so her trait of foresight and her role as the king’s advisor are both removed. (The Ospirin of the *Waltharius* indeed urges in line W.145 that the “wisdom of the king” should be “provident and concerned” *Provideat caveatque, precor*,

sollertia regis, but she clearly has grasped the situation much earlier than has the “king’s wisdom.” As she then will go on to tell the king not only what to say, but exactly what words to use, it seems fair not only to transfer the traits of “providence” and “concern” from the king to the queen, but also to imagine that the whole situation might have gone better for the Huns if the queen had handled the conversation with Walter herself.) The chronicler continues to reduce her role, even in his compressed, or “bridge” phrase:

Ex cuius discessum rex cum regina
multum dolentes Waltharium retinere nitentes

The king is now the subject of the sentence, and the queen is relegated from her direct speech to a phrase of accompaniment, “along with the queen.” As the stated subject, the king becomes the primary focus and “antagonist” of this small drama. The *Chronicle*’s pair then lament together, indicated by the plural forms of the participles and the main verb continuing through the bridged passage concluding with W.135.

With the omission of these lines, the chronicler removes the focus from the royal couple, taking away their direct discourse, and putting their words and their promises into the subordinate subjunctive clauses of reported speech. The omission also takes the emphasis from the human emotions of the Huns, removing their conversations, fears, suggestions, and agreements in the wake of Hagan’s departure. In the *Waltharius* the couple have a natural response to the unforeseen development of Hagan’s departure. The flight of their two hostages, so important to the Hun army, poses a potential political threat, a threat that could be even more catastrophic than a military one, and, from their point of view, could even lead to military threat. In times of military threat, the Huns had Hagan and Walter, but now there is certainly the hint of a very real military consequence with Hagan’s actual departure and Walter’s potential one. The royal Huns in the

Chronicle, however, are allowed neither these logical, political concerns nor their natural, “human” emotions; they are reduced to “grieving greatly” (*multum dolentes*) and “striving” to keep Walter (*nitentes*). Since what they offer him – an advantageous marriage – is retained in these lines, there is no need to set it up with Ospirin’s previous speech, and the chronicler has retained all of the important information while removing both the queen’s importance and the unnecessary focus on the pagans.

Looking ahead again to the retained lines of W.369-379, the “repetition” of the lines at hand, the omission of Ospirin’s influence in this first passage substantially changes even the later role of the queen. As has been seen, she is no longer a wise forward-thinking leader equal to the king; with the chronicler’s expansion to W.371 of *strepens*, “shrieking,” the *Chronicle*’s queen is now a hysterical woman saying “I told you so” (*Quod ... iam dudum prescia dixi*). She is still allowed in the chronicler’s line to be prescient (*prescia*), but the validity of the word is removed as she rails; the trait is not attributed to her by others; she calls herself “foreseeing,” and the modifier becomes merely the commonplace added, obviously throughout millennia, by all who say, “I told you so:” “I knew it.” In the *Waltharius*, however, Ospirin really did assess the situation and warn the king, and she indeed turned out to be “foreseeing.”

In the middle of the two six-line compressed or “bridged” passages of W.123-128 and W.130-135, there is one *Waltharius* line which is essentially retained in the *Chronicle*, W.129:

W.129

“nam vereor, ne fors fugiens Haganonem
imitetur

CN

ne forte simili exitu illum ammittentes

While relaying the sense of the queen's original fear, the chronicler nevertheless has changed this line in three significant ways. First, as seen above, the queen is not speaking directly. Instead of a first-person, active verb, *vereor*, followed by her stated and prescient fear that Walter will follow in Hagan's footsteps, in the *Chronicle* the royal pair both fear this event. The actual event that they fear, that of Walter's departure, is also treated differently. The *Chronicle's* Walter rarely "flees," and in this particular line, the chronicler has removed the *Waltharius's* mention of "flight," (*fugiens*, with Walter as the subject, stated in W.127), and has replaced it with the less fearful and hasty "exit" (*exitus*). In the *Chronicle*, Walter is no longer "fleeing;" the king and queen are merely worried about "losing him" (*illum ammittentes*) by means of his "exit." The third element of significance in this line is that Walter is no longer "imitating" Hagan, even obliquely in a fear clause (*ne fors...Haganonem imitetur*). The *Chronicle's* Walter, even with the clause retained (though now merely negative purpose instead of the expressed fear of the queen), imitates no one, and is imagined merely to have a "similar exit."

After this retained line, there is another omission of six lines, W.130-135, which the chronicler again bridges briefly:

W.130-135	CN
idcircoque meam perpendite nunc	
rationem:	
cum primum veniat, haec illi dicite verba:	
'servitio in nostro magnos plerumque	
labores	
passus eras ideoque scias, quod gratia	rogare illum coeperunt
nostra	
prae cunctis temet nimium dilexit amicis.	
Quod volo plus factis te quam cognoscere	
dictis.'	

Continuing Ospirin's direct speech from W.125-129, the *Waltharius*'s queen instructs the king to pay attention, and dictates to him (using the respectful "majestic plural" imperatives, *perpendite* and *dicite*) exactly what he should say to Walter: "Say these words to him." In addition to the continued diminution of the queen's role, also omitted in this section is vocabulary which suggests possible double meanings or which refer to the king's affections for Walter. As we have seen, the queen no longer advises the king in direct speech, and in W.130 the reference to her rational thought is omitted as well; these omissions continue the pattern of omission seen in W.123-128. Within this omission of the queen's speech there are several words omitted with a potential for double meaning. Noted previously have been several words which the chronicler seems to omit for their secular meanings as well as their potential sacred ones. In the queen's instructions to the king, Attila is to recognize that Walter has performed great deeds "in our service" (*servitio in nostro*).⁵⁹⁴ Since Walter's relationships with the Huns have already been diminished, it perhaps comes as no surprise that references to his vassalage and loyal service might be omitted. *Servitium*, however, also can be used in Christian contexts with connotations of devotion,⁵⁹⁵ "service to God,"⁵⁹⁶ and "monastic life."⁵⁹⁷ On yet another level, the mention of Walter's "endurance" (*passus...eras*) has a potentially uncomfortable tenor, even setting aside the obvious correlation of the Lord's Passion. *Passus* is the word used for the passive role in sexual intercourse,⁵⁹⁸ and it

⁵⁹⁴ Kratz, "in serving us," p. 9

⁵⁹⁵ Souter

⁵⁹⁶ Blaise Patristic, Blaise Medieval, Du Cange

⁵⁹⁷ Blaise Patristic, Du Cange

⁵⁹⁸ Blaise Patristic; Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, pp. 189-90

seems that whether secular or sacred, the connotations of these words are not ones that the chronicler is willing to associate with his hero. These meanings take on more significance in conjunction with the following lines (again the queen's directions concerning what the king should say): "our grace has esteemed you greatly, you above all friends" (*gratia nostra / prae cunctis temet nimium dilexit amicis*). This is the second omission of the phrase "esteemed greatly" (*nimium dilexit*; the first W.109, is discussed above) a phrase which now refers not to both of the hostage boys, but to Walter specifically, even carrying with it the enclitic intensifier *-met* (*temet*). This omission of Walter not only as a "friend," but as the king's primary friend (*prae cunctis...amicis*), is of a piece with the previous omission of the reference in W.127 to Walter as the king's friend (*vester...amicus*). Again we see the omission of any mention of the friendship between the two men, or of the great esteem that the king has for Walter.

Of the following three lines, W.136-138, the two retained lines are essentially intact, and surround a one-line omission:

W.136	CN
Elige de satrapis nuptam tibi Pannoniarum	ut filiam alicuius regis satrapis
	pannoniarum summeret sibi uxorem
W.137	
et non pauperiem propriam perpendere	
cures.	
W.138	CN
Amplificabo quidem valde te rure domique	et ipse ampliaret illi rure domosque

The omission of W.137 is significant because it contains the instruction to Walter, "And do not be concerned about your poverty."⁵⁹⁹ For the monastic Walter of the *Chronicle*, of course, his poverty will be one of his primary concerns and cares.

⁵⁹⁹ Kratz, p.9

With line W.138 comes not only the end of the section, but also an excellent opportunity to observe closely the chronicler's grammatical fidelity even within the context of his many omissions and adaptations. After all of the omissions and adaptations examined so far in this section, the *Chronicle*'s one sentence that ultimately encompasses these sixteen lines of the *Waltharius* now reads as follows:

Ex cuius discessum rex cum regina multum dolentes Waltharium retinere nitentes
ne forte simili exitu illum ammittentes
rogare illum coeperunt
ut filiam alicuius regis satrapis pannoniarum summeret sibi uxorem
et ipse ampliaret illi rure domosque.

The symmetry maintained by the chronicler in his adaptation of this sixteen-line section models that of his adaptation of the entire forty-seven line passage, mentioned above. The chronicler has divided his version of this section neatly between the participial phrase descriptors of the king and queen (seventeen words), and their (indirect) command to Walter with its attendant offer of riches (sixteen words); these symmetrical parts are balanced on the fulcrum of the three-word main sentence, "they (began to) ask him," *illum rogare coeperunt*. This main sentence is placed therefore almost exactly in the middle of the two clauses, and the entire sentence is book-ended by the king (with the queen's role now diminished, as we have seen) as the stated subject, *rex*, a few words in, and that subject's modifier, *ipse*, a few words from the end. The chronicler maintains his change of focalization throughout the entire section – no mean feat, as he is not only modifying the sentence from a first-person quote in the king's voice; the modification is actually from the queen's "first-person" quote as she dictates to the king what he should (in first-person!) say to Walter. Having deftly removed the issue

of the queen's speech by relegating her to an accompaniment clause, the chronicler changes the king's (quoted) first-person *Amplificabo*, "I will increase" to a third-person report in a subjunctive clause, *ipse ampliaret*, with the necessary connecting *et* brought down from the omitted line W.137 to the *Chronicle*'s adaptation of W.138.

The main verb forms are changed to plural throughout, from the singular verb referring to the queen's actions. The king, "along with the queen," have plural participle modifiers, *dolentes*, *nitentes*, *ammittentes* (although *ammittentes* serves here as the main verb of the clause), and the chronicler retains the plural in his main verb three "lines" later, *coeperunt*. The original fear clause governed by the queen's first-person *vereor* in the *Waltharius*, "I fear lest he..." is now a negative purpose clause introduced by *nitentes*, "...striving (to keep him), that they might not lose him..." Even in the severely abridged main sentence, *illum rogare coeperunt*, the chronicler keeps track of his grammatical intent, as this sentence now introduces an indirect command, *ut...summeret sibi uxorem...*, replacing the original imperative of the king (again, as dictated by the queen), "*Elige...nuptam tibi*". Also changed to fit the new grammatical structure is the *sibi* of the *Chronicle*, "they began to ask that he choose for himself," instead of the *tibi* of the *Waltharius*, "Choose for yourself."

Of the following six-line section, W.139-44 of the *Waltharius*, omitted in the *Chronicle*, the first two lines complete the speech that the chronicler's Ospirin never gets to make:

W.139-144

nec quisquam, qui dat sponsam, post facta pudebit,
Quod si completis, illum stabilire potestis."
Complacuit sermo regi coepitque parari.
Waltharius venit, cui princeps talia pandit,
uxorem suadens sibi ducere; sed tamen ipse

iam tum praemeditans quod post compleverat actis,

The further diminution of the queen's influence is continued with the omission of the next line, as the chronicler leaves out the fact that the queen's ideas, her "speech," pleased the king, and he "began preparations," ostensibly to follow her advice. Then, in W.142-143, Attila tells Walter the whole plan, presumably as dictated by the queen, and encourages Walter to marry. Thus far, the reader of the *Chronicle* is in possession of all of this information, even given all the earlier adaptations, so there is no narrative element lost in this omission. What is lost, however, is the information contained in the next lines, W.143-44, as the reader of the *Waltharius* is informed that Walter is making plans of his own as he begins his response to the king:

W.142-144
Waltharius venit, cui princeps talia pandit,
uxorem suadens sibi ducere; sed tamen ipse
iam tum praemeditans quod post compleverat actis

At this point, it is worth remembering that the *Chronicle*'s reader has not been presented with the political nuances of Hagan's escape and Walter's remaining with Attila. For the *Waltharius*'s reader, the relative political position of the two hostages was previously addressed. Now, when Walter begins his flattering response to the king, his words have been flagged from the outset as a lie, or at the very least it is known to the reader that Walter is speaking at cross-purposes, "making his own plans."⁶⁰⁰ In the *Chronicle*, however, Walter not only has remained behind while Hagan has fled, but he also begins his response to the king and queen with no narrative explanation:

W.145
his instiganti suggestibus obvius inquit

CN
Quibus Waltharius talia respondit verba

⁶⁰⁰ Kratz, p. 11 "...already making plans he later would accomplish."

In both versions of the narrative, therefore, Walter responds to Attila even as he plots escape for himself and for Hildegund, but that situation is set up entirely differently in the two works. The reader of the *Chronicle* has no idea that Walter's words are false until after Walter's response, when the king is finally described by the chronicler as "deceived" *deceptus*. Since the chronicler defers this important piece of information, the *Chronicle*'s reader theoretically does not know that when Walter responds he is lying. The chronicler therefore has a somewhat delicate task in presenting the remaining lines of this passage, and there will need to be some care taken with how Walter is presented in this version of his response: the *Chronicle*'s Walter cannot say things that – for now – seem true, which are flattering to Attila but unseemly for Novalese's monk; Walter also cannot say things suggestive of his true, Christian faith, as befits his future monastic status, that will turn out to be lies. The discussion of the chronicler's treatment of the remaining twenty *Waltharius* lines will take this juxtaposition into account.

After the retained line W.145, Walter's reply in the *Waltharius* is again abridged or omitted in the *Chronicle*:

W.146-149

"Vestra quidem pietas est, quod modici famulatus
causam conspicitis. Sed quod mea segnia mentis
intuitu fertis, nusquam meruisse valerem.
Sed precor ut servi capiatís verba fidelis:

Once again we see in these lines several instances of vocabulary with potential Christian overtones, which again are omitted in the *Chronicle*'s rendition of the narrative: *pietas*, *famulatus servi...fidelis*. Following a now-familiar pattern, the omission of this vocabulary, whether its meaning is sacred or secular, seems to suggest that these are ideas that the chronicler is not willing to associate with his hero.

In the *Waltharius*, Walter speaks to the king (with the “majestic plural” kept throughout), and refers to Attila’s “great piety,” and refers to himself as a “faithful servant.” As modeled by the earlier omitted language of triumph, the Huns are not allowed even the classical, secular ideal of *pietas*, dutiful conduct toward the gods,⁶⁰¹ much less the Christian one of religious respect and piety.⁶⁰² The only time that the *Chronicle*’s Attila is allowed to be “pious” is in the text corresponding to W.97:

W.97-99

Exulibus pueris magnam exhibuit pietatem
Ac veluti proprios nutrire iubebat alumnos
Virginis et curam reginam mandat habere.

CN

Exulibus pueris magnam exhibuit pietatem,
Hac veluti proprios nutrire iubebat alumpnos
Virginis et curam reginam mandat habere.

This passage, however, refers less to a general character trait of Attila than to his specific treatment of the hostage children. The ways in which Attila manifests his “responsibility” to them are noted.

The reduction of Attila’s character trait of *pietas*, or devotion, occurs again with the *Chronicle*’s changed text of W.402. In both narratives, Attila vows to enrich the man who will return Walter to the king. In the *Waltharius*, however, Attila makes this vow while invoking his ancestors, *patribusque vocatis*, but in the *Chronicle*, Attila merely swears the oath promising the riches:

W.402-403

Vix tamen erupit cras, rex patribusque
vocatis
Dixerat

CN

Tunc rex votum fecerat, ut

⁶⁰¹ Lewis and Short.

⁶⁰² Blaise Patristic.

Also omitted is *famulatus* with its connotations of either secular obedience and vassalage to a secular lord, or sacred devotion and service to God.⁶⁰³ Just as Attila is denied the trait of “piety,” Walter is not allowed “service” to a secular king.⁶⁰⁴

In addition to being free of words which could possibly be construed as service to God, the Walter of the *Chronicle* does not “pray” to Attila. All three instances of *precor*, the first found in W.149, and the one instance of its related noun, *prex -cis*, are left out by the chronicler. In the text corresponding to W.159, the chronicler chooses *deprecor* instead of *testor*, with the changed word’s potentially less objectionable meaning of “urge,” or “demand (from).”⁶⁰⁵ So, although the chronicler avoids the forms of *precor* in general, he is willing to employ a variant of this term when his alternative is *testor*, which has a much greater danger of being interpreted in a Christian sense. Again, whether these words are intended to mean secular “pleas” or sacred “prayers,” Walter does not offer them to Attila.

The chronicler has made several omissions from the following eight-line section, W.150-157. With the omission of W.146-149, the *Chronicle*’s reader picks up from the last retained line, jumping from W.145 to W.150, a line which is also essentially retained. The pattern seen in other passages continues as the *Chronicle*’s Walter is defined not only by what is retained, but also by what is omitted. It is helpful again to see the two texts side by side:

W.150-157	CN
Si nuptam accipiam domini praecepta secundum	“si nuptam,” inquit, “accipiam secundum domini preceptum,
Vinciar in primis curis et amore puellae	In primis vinciar curis et amore puelle,
Atque a servitio regis plerumque retardor:	
Aedificare domos cultumque intendere	Aedificare domos cultumque intendere

⁶⁰³ Souter, obedience, devotion to God; Blaise Patristic, service to God; Blaise Medieval vassalage

⁶⁰⁴ The chronicler retains a variant of this word in the line corresponding to W.278, but Walter is referring in that context to actual servants of Attila. The *Chronicle*’s Walter will not be of their number; he refers to others, but not to himself, as “vassal.”

⁶⁰⁵ Blaise Patristic; Stelten Ecclesiastical Latin

ruris	ruris.
Cogor, et hoc oculis senioris adesse	
moratur	
Et solitam regno Hunorum impendere	
curam.	
Namque voluptatem quisquis gustaverit,	
exin	
Intolerabilius consuevit ferre labores.	

Setting aside for a moment the omission of the end of the section, lines W.154-157 and the language contained in those lines, there are three alterations to examine in the lines presented by the chronicler: the chronicler's re-positioning of the phrase *in primis*; the omission of W.152 within his overall retention of W.150-153; and the use of *vinciar*. The new placement of *in primis* changes the way in which it is used as a modifier. The sentiment expressed in W.152 avoided in the midst of other retained lines follows the pattern seen before; the verb *vinciar* without the following, parallel verbs of the *Waltharius*, becomes the main verb introducing the infinitive. These alterations result in a change of tone to the entire passage retained in the *Chronicle*. First, since the chronicler has kept line W.151 verbatim except for word order, the changed word order is deserving of examination. The placement of *in primis* after the verb in the *Waltharius* leads the reader to construe the adverbial expression primarily in relation to the following nouns, *curis* and *amore*, "I will be constrained, **first** by my concerns and love of the girl..." By shifting the modifier and placing it before the verb, the chronicler also shifts what is modified – now *in primis* is more naturally taken as modifying the verb instead of the nouns: "**First**, I would be constrained..." In the *Waltharius*, Walter goes on to list the additional constraints that will come with marriage: he will be hindered in his service to the king (*retardor*), and will be compelled to build a house (*cogor*). These impediments will then mean that Walter will not be able to be at the king's side, or to give his customary attention to the Huns. The chronicler's avoidance of this reasoning on Walter's part follows the pattern already

established, that of the diminution of Walter's role among the Huns. The omission of W.152 with its main verb, *retardor*, and the final relevant "service" term, *servitium*, removes Walter's suggestion not only that he serves the king, but also that he would hasten to do so. The final consideration is the verb *vinciar*. In the *Waltharius* the verb is parallel with the verbs *retardor* and *cogor*, giving all three verbs, including the present tense *retardor* and *cogor*, a future feel.⁶⁰⁶ Since the parallel verbs are not retained in the *Chronicle*, *vinciar* is easily read as a subjunctive, resulting in a future-less-vivid clause (*Si...accipiam...vinciar*), and therefore a more polite response on Walter's part rather than a complaint. This shift in reading, though small, suggests a polite distance in Walter's response, rather than the immediate counter of a highly-favored soldier responding to a fellow military commander. These three alterations considered together, suggest different possible readings of the two texts. The reading of the *Waltharius* seems clear: Walter's pretended reason for not marrying is that he will be forced to pay attention to domestic responsibilities and will be kept from his primary service to King Attila and the Huns. This gives the reader of the *Waltharius* a Walter who protests that marriage will get in the way of his responsibilities to the Huns. In contrast, the chronicler's changes to the passage present a different Walter, who politely reminds the king that if he should marry, he would be constrained by his love of the girl and domestic responsibilities. The reading then takes on an entirely different tone:

"If I take a bride, following the command
of my lord
I will be bound primarily by cares and the
girl's love
and I will be greatly held back from the
king's service:
To build a home and tend to the care of the
land

"If I should take a bride," he said,
"following the command of my lord,
First, I would be bound by concern and
love for the girl

To construct a home and to concentrate on
cultivating the land."

⁶⁰⁶ Kratz, p.11, does not translate *cogor* exactly, but gives all three of his translated verbs as future tense: "I **will** be bound...And often kept away. The need to build...**will** hinder me..."

I will be compelled...”

Again, the chronicler has kept his sentence grammatically intact, re-shaping it around a different main verb. With the omission of the following *Waltharius* line, W.154, with its main verb *cogor*, the *Chronicle*’s line no longer reads, “and I will be compelled to build a home...” In the *Chronicle*, the infinitive’s introducing verb perforce becomes the retained *vinciar*,⁶⁰⁷ “...I would be bound... to construct a home and...” This potential change of tone discussed above is bolstered by the chronicler’s omissions of the last part of the passage, with its language of Walter’s service to the king and to the Huns.

W.154-157

Cogor, et hoc oculis senioris adesse moratur
Et solitam regno Hunorum impendere curam.
Namque voluptatem quisquis gustaverit, exin
Intolerabilius consuevit ferre labores.

The Walter of the *Waltharius* seems to chafe at the idea of marriage, instead being much more interested in his duty to Attila and the Huns. The portrayal of the *Chronicle*’s Walter suppresses this interpretation, and leaves the hero expressing a more Christian sentiment regarding marriage. The reader of either narrative knows that Walter is betrothed to Hildegund, but the *Chronicle*’s reader, as discussed, doesn’t realize yet that Walter is deceiving the king. The reader of the *Waltharius*, therefore, can enjoy being in on the joke as Walter utters his fulsome words of duty to the king, but the *Chronicle*’s reader is presented with a Walter who admits that he would be constrained by concern and love to find a home and till the soil. By omitting the final two lines of this section, the chronicler also avoids Walter’s stated idea of marriage as *voluptas*, along with his further comment that once married, hard work would be intolerable. The chronicler again seems to have his future, monastic hero in mind as he shapes Walter’s response to the king. These changed elements of Walter’s concern and love evoke for the reader of the *Chronicle* not

⁶⁰⁷ The use of *vincior* governing the infinitive is not attested, but it seems what the chronicler intends here.

only the true and spiritual love which Walter and Hildegund will share (and which will be examined further), but also the care and devotion which will be felt by the monk Walter of Novalesse. Walter's now envisioned, and later actual, marriage with Hildegund will not carry the secular connotation of *voluptas* that would hinder him from his true responsibility to the monastery, but will be one that is even parallel to his future relationship with it. Walter will indeed be bound to construct a home and concentrate on cultivating the land: the *Chronicle's* Walter, after his marriage to Hildegund, will search the world to find his monastic home, and there he will care for the land as a gardener.

Between the omissions of W.154-157 and of W.159-164, the chronicler again retains one line. This retained line, corresponding to W.158, is the only line in the *Chronicle* in which Walter expresses fidelity to the king. The chronicler changes the line, however, and as we have seen, the changes to the retained line, in addition to the omission of the following lines continue to present a Walter who is acceptable within his monastic context:

W.158-159	CN
Nil tam dulce mihi, quam semper inesse fidei	Nil ergo mi senior tam dulce mihi, quam semper tibi inesse fidelis;
Obsequio domini;	
For nothing is so sweet to me as always being	Nothing, therefore, my lord, is so sweet to me as always being faithful to you;
In faithful obedience to my lord.	

After examining the chronicler's pattern of avoiding words from the *Waltharius* which connote "service," *servitium*, *servus*, and *famulus*, it certainly comes as no surprise that the phrase "faithful servitude" (*fidei obsequio*) is also omitted. As we have seen with examples of like vocabulary, whatever possible meanings of *obsequium* are employed, either the secular "submission,"⁶⁰⁸ "any service owed to a lord,"⁶⁰⁹ "homage, service, respect,"⁶¹⁰ or the sacred

⁶⁰⁸ Blaise Patristic.

“submission to God,”⁶¹¹ “worship,”⁶¹² these terms will not be associated with the Walter of the *Chronicle*. What is possibly surprising to find retained in the *Chronicle*’s line, is the terminology of faith, *fidelis* of the *Waltharius*, modifying *obsequium*, to now modify Walter himself. As we have seen in previous examples the ways in which the chronicler maintains his grammatical focus, it is worth noting even in this short line how he changes the grammar of the sentence in keeping with his text. In the *Waltharius*, Walter says that there is nothing sweeter than always to be in the faithful submission of his lord, *inesse fideli / obsequio domini*, with the dative *fideli* modifying *obsequio*. The *Chronicle*’s Walter says that there is nothing sweeter than always to “be faithful,” *inesse fidelis*. *Fidelis* is now nominative, modifying Walter, and there is no mention of obeisance, or of a lord. What remains is the term Walter uses when addressing Attila, *senior*. Although both words carry the force of “[my] lord,” this choice of the secular *senior*, in place of the godly *domino*, diminishes the Christian overtones of Walter’s fidelity to Attila, by making Walter faithful to a respected elder rather than to a/the “Lord.” The substitution of *senior* in this line also invites a look ahead to a later change the chronicler will make when the men are drunk at the banquet which Walter has planned:

W.317
 Heroas validos plantis titubare videres.
 CN
 Seniores fortes videres plantis titubare:

The drinkers are not the “mighty heroes,” of the *Waltharius*, but “bold old men.”

The Attila addressed by the *Chronicle*’s Walter is likewise diminished in W.158-159 from a godly “lord” to an elderly one.

⁶⁰⁹ Blaise Medieval.

⁶¹⁰ Stelten.

⁶¹¹ Blaise Patristic.

⁶¹² Stelten.

The crux of the change in the *Chronicle*'s recasting of W.158-59, however, seems to hang on the chronicler's addition to the sentence of *tibi*, making Walter *tibi...fidelis*, "faithful to you," that is, to the king. This explicit expansion may seem curious in light of the chronicler's pains until now to remove any mention of Walter's flattery to the king. It must be borne in mind, however, that a mere four lines hence the *Chronicle*'s Walter at last will be shown to have deceived the king. This line (W.158) with its changes gives an excellent example of both the chronicler's dilemma and his resolution of it: his monastic Walter is not allowed "faithful submission" to a pagan king, as the reader is unaware at this point that Walter is being deceitful, but it also seems unacceptable for Walter to be proven later to be lying about his own Christian virtue of sempiternal fidelity, "...always to be faithful.." What the chronicler's Walter can be allowed to lie about, however, is always being faithful "to you," to the king.

The omission of W.159-164 follows in every aspect the pattern observed throughout the discussion of this forty-seven line passage:

W.159-164

Obsequio domini; quare precor absque iugali
 Me vincolo permitte meam iam ducere vitam.
 Si sero aut medio noctis mihi tempore mandas,
 Ad quaecumque iubes, securus et ibo paratus.
 In bellis nullae persuadent cedere curae
 Nec nati aut coniunx retrahentque fugamque movebunt.

First, and of primary importance throughout the entire passage, is the very fact of the omission. Six lines of Walter's response are gone, and we have seen that the omission of lines in and of itself effects a much reduced interaction between Walter and the Huns. As discussed above, the vocabulary of prayer, *precor* in W.159, is omitted. In keeping with Walter's more Christian traits in the *Chronicle*, gone also are Walter's continuing words about marriage, service to the king, and loyalty to the Huns: the Walter of the *Waltharius* chooses the bondage of his lord to that of marriage, preferring the *fideli obsequio domini* to the *iugali...vincolo*, even going so far

as to ask permission to live his entire life unmarried, so that he will be able to respond to the king's commands "late at night, or at midnight." Without a marriage at all, his might with the Huns will be unimpaired, as no family concerns will soften him in war.

The final section of this forty-seven line passage, W.165-169, is retained to a certain extent in the *Chronicle*, but with significant changes:

W.165-169	CN
Testor per propriam temet, pater optime, vitam	teque optime deprecor, pater, per propriam vitam
atque per invictam nunc gentem Pannoniarum ut non ulterius me cogas sumere taedas."	atque per invictam gentem Pannoniarum ut non ulterius me cogas sumere taedas."
His precibus victus, suasus rex deserit omnes	Cumque haec dixisset, sermones statim deserit omnes. Sicque rex deceptus, sperans Waltharium recedere numquam.
Sperans Waltharium fugiendo recedere numquam.	

Picking up from where the *Chronicle*'s passage left off, Walter has just said that there is nothing better than to be faithful "to you", and then starts next sentence with "and I particularly ask you..." The changes made by the chronicler in W.165 are again significant for the reading of the line in the *Chronicle*. First, the chronicler has substituted *teque* for the *temet* of the Waltharius, a substitution which has two results. The added *-que* keeps the chronicler's sentence intact, even after the previous omission of six *Waltharius* lines. Also, the intensifier *temet* is now avoided by the chronicler for the second time, with *te* referring once to Walter, now to Attila. In both instances the omission of the intensifier takes away the special emphasis of the relationship between the two men, whether referring to Walter or Attila. As the chronicler's substitution of *deprecor* for *testor* has already been discussed, the second change of note has to do with the word order of the line:

W.165
Testor per propriam temet, pater optime, vitam

CN
teque optime deprecor, pater, per propriam vitam

As demonstrated above with the example of *in primis*, the change in word order changes the idea of what is modified. The chronicler has removed the modifier from its vocative agreement with *pater* in the *Waltharius*, “most excellent father.” In the *Chronicle*, the word takes on an adverbial sense⁶¹³, now modifying *deprecor*, “I especially / particularly wish...” Now, instead of addressing Attila as *optime pater*, the *Chronicle*’s Walter has a particular request of the king to whom he just addressed his loyalty.

W.165
Testor per propriam temet, pater optime, vitam
I beg you, best of fathers, by your very life...⁶¹⁴
CN
teque optime deprecor, pater, per propriam vitam
and I especially beg of you, father, by my life...

In the final lines of this section in the *Waltharius*, the king is overcome (*victus*), by Walter’s arguments, and leaves off his efforts to persuade him:

W.168-169
His precibus victus, suasus rex deserit omnes
Sperans Waltharium fugiendo recedere numquam.

In the *Chronicle*, however, in the line corresponding to W.168, the king’s modifiers are changed, and for the first time, the *Chronicle*’s reader sees that the king is *deceptus*, and has been deceived by Walter. The chronicler changes the focus from the king to Walter, while logically removing the possibility of Walter’s being at all persuaded by substituting the noun *sermones* for *suasus*:

W.168-169
His precibus victus, suasus rex deserit
omnes

CN
Cumque haec dixisset sermones statim
deserit omnes sicque rex deceptus
sperans Waltharium recedere numquam

⁶¹³ “singulariter” adverb, Le Talleur

⁶¹⁴ Kratz, p.11

sperans Waltharium fugiendo recedere
numquam.

In the *Chronicle*, therefore, it is no longer the king who has “abandoned all his [efforts at] persuasion,” but Walter who has “left off all speech.” The king is no longer “overcome” (*victus...rex*), as in the *Waltharius*, but has been “deceived” (*sicque rex deceptus*). The previous words spoken by the *Chronicle*’s Walter are changed from “pleas” or “prayers” (*preces*), to a much tamer “these things” (*haec*). The *Waltharius* line W.169 is retained almost exactly in the *Chronicle*, with the omission of only one word, *fugiendo*. The king and queen hope that Walter never will leave, but, for the chronicler, there is no suggestion that Walter might leave “by fleeing.”

Forty-seven lines of the *Waltharius* have been condensed by the chronicler into the equivalent of fifteen. The role of the Huns has been substantially changed, as has that of Walter in relation to them. Vocabulary that suggests possible Christian overtones referring to pagans has for the most part been omitted by the chronicler. In such a condensed and changed passage, the chronicler has maintained grammatical focus and has given his reader the essential information contained in the *Waltharius*.

CN

Ex cuius discessum rex cum regina multum dolentes Waltharium retinere nitentes
ne forte simili exitu illum ammittentes
rogare illum coeperunt
ut filiam alicuius regis satrapis pannoniarum summeret sibi uxorem
et ipse ampliaret illi rure domosque.
Quibus Waltharius talia respondit verba:
“Si nuptam,” inquit, “accipiam secundum domini preceptum
In primis vinciar curis et amore puelle
Aedificare domos cultumque intendere ruris.
Nil ergo mi senior tam dulce mihi quam semper tibi inesse fidelis
teque optime deprecor, pater, per propriam vitam
atque per invictam gentem Pannoniarum
ut non ulterius me cogas sumere taedas.”
Cumque haec dixisset sermones statim deserit omnes sicque rex deceptus
sperans Waltharium recedere numquam.

In the discussion of the *Chronicle*'s "quoted" *Waltharius* section thus far, we have seen changes made by the chronicler which recast or diminish Walter's secular roles, while giving weight to his more Christian characteristics. Walter's role as a warrior and a leader among the Huns is recast, as is his relationship as a friend and servant to Attila. The role of the Huns themselves is diminished at every turn. Through these changes, the chronicler has attempted to clarify what kind of warrior Walter is – and is not; likewise, we have seen what kind of servant the *Chronicle*'s Walter is – and is not. The following section will examine the changes in another of Walter's important roles in the epic, that of Walter in his relationship with Hildegund. The discussion will focus on the chronicler's methods in recasting the type of lover that Walter is – and is not.

Walter and Hildegund

The following are the passages of the *Chronicle*'s "quoted" *Waltharius* section that include Walter and Hildegund together:

- W.220-260: Walter and Hildegund meet and speak
- W.261-287: Walter's instructions to Hildegund; Hildegund's consent
- W.324-357: Walter and Hildegund leave Attila's kingdom; their travels
- [W.419-435: The travels continue; Hildegund not mentioned in this section]
- W.489-512: The pair find a place to rest
- W.532-571: Hildegund sees the enemy and awakens Walter; his response

Just as we have seen the chronicler change Walter's role as a warrior and a friend, we will see throughout these passages the changes he has made to Walter's role as a lover and to that of Walter and Hildegund as a betrothed couple. Almost all mention of physicality or sensuality between the two is removed or altered, with the result that the relationship is elevated beyond a secular romance to a more spiritual, Christian bond. The passage in the *Chronicle* that is most

relevant to this discussion is that corresponding to W.220-260, in which Walter and Hildegund are in physical proximity and are speaking intimately to each other. Further examples of the chronicler's methods in reducing this secular physicality between the pair are found in some of the later passages, and will be discussed on a case-by-case basis.

As before, a comparison of the language in, and changes to, the passage under discussion offers an insight into what the relationship between the *Chronicle's* Walter and Hildegund is – and is not – meant to be.

W.220
(Lassus enim fuerat), regisque cubile
petebat.
Illic Hiltgundem solam offendit
residentem.
Cui post amplexus atque oscula dulcia
dixit:
“Ocius huc potum ferto, quia fessus
anhelo.”
Illa mero tallum conplevit mox pretiosum
225 Porrexitque viro, qui signans
accipiebat
Virgineamque manum propria constrinxit.
at illa
Astitit et vultum reticens intendit herilem,
Walthariusque bibens vacuum vas porrigit
olli
– Ambo etenim norant de se sponsalia
facta –
230 Provocat et tali caram sermone
puellam:
“Exilium pariter patimur iam tempore
tanto,
Non ignorantes, quid nostri forte parentes
Inter se nostra de re fecere futura.
Quamne diu tacito premimus haec ipsa
palato?”
235 Virgo per hyroniam meditans hoc
dicere sponsum
Paulum conticuit, sed postea talia reddit:

“Quid lingua simulas, quod ab imo pectore
damnas,

CN
Erat enim oppido lassus, regisque cubile
petebat.
Illicque in ingressu Hilgundem solam
offendit residentem;
Cui post amabilem amplexionem atque
dulcia oscula dixit:
“Ocius huc potum ferto, quia fessus
anhelo”
Illa mero tallum conplevit mox pretiosum,
Atque Walthario ad bibendum obtulit; Qui
signans accepit,
Virgineamque manum propria constrinxit;
at illa
Reticens vultum intendit in eum.
Cumque Waltharius bibisset, vacuum vas
reddidit illi –
Ambo enim noverant de se sponsalia facta
–
Provocat et tali caram sermone puellam:
“Exilium pariter patimur iam tempore
tanto.
Non ignoramus enim, quod nostri quondam
parentes
Inter se nostra de re fecere futura.”
Quae cum diu talia et alia huius modi
audisset
virgo verba, cogitabat hoc illi per hyroniam
dicere,
sed paululum cum conticuisset, talia illi
fatur:
“Quid lingua simulas quod ab imo pectore
dampnas?

Oreque persuades, toto quod corde refutas,
Sit veluti talem pudor ingens ducere
nuptam?”

240 Vir sapiens contra respondit et intulit
ista:

“Absit quod memoras! dextrorsum porrige
sensus!

Noris me nihilum simulata mente locutum

Nec quicquam nebulae vel falsi interfore
crede.

Nullus adest nobis exceptis namque
duobus:

Ore mihi fingis, toto quod corde refutas,
Tamquam si sit tibi magnus pudor ducere
nuptam.”

Vir sapiens contra respondit et intulit ista:

“Absit, quod memoras. Dextrorsum
porrige sensum.

Scis enim, nil umquam me simulata mente
locutum.

Adest itaque hic nullus, exceptis nobis
duobus.

W.245-260

Si nossem temet mihi promptam inpendere mentem

Atque fidem votis servare per omnia cautis,
Pandere cuncta tibi cordis mysteria vellem.”

Tandem virgo viri genibus curvata profatur:

“Ad quaecumque vocas, mi domne, sequar studiose

250 Nec quicquam placitis malim praeponere iussis.”

Ille dehinc: “piget exilii me denique nostri

Et patriae fines reminiscor saepe relictos

Idcircoque fugam cupio celerare latentem.

Quod iam prae multis potuissem forte diebus,

255 Si non Hiltgundem solam remanere dolerem.”

Addidit has imo virguncula corde loquelas:

“Vestrum velle meum, solis his aestuo rebus.

Praecipiat dominus, seu prospera sive sinistra

Eius amore pati toto sum pectore praesto.”

260 Waltharius tandem sic virginis inquit in aurem:

The lines concerning the relationship between Walter and Hildegund begin with the description of Walter when he returns from battle and enters the palace, on his way to the king's bedchamber. At this point in both narratives, Walter has had his conversation with the royal couple regarding his marriage, and has since been out fighting a battle. He has had his homecoming, along with the rest of the Huns, and has dismounted his horse and headed inside. The changes made by the chronicler to this section begin with the very first lines:

W.220-221

(Lassus enim fuerat), regisque cubile
petebat.

Illic Hiltgundem solam offendit
residentem.

CN

Erat enim **oppido** lassus, regisque cubile
petebat.

Illicque in ingressu Hilgundem solam
offendit residentem;

Walter as a character in the *Chronicle* is rarely described as tired, and the chronicler takes pains to remove the majority of the vocabulary evoking this potentially problematic characteristic. In this instance, however, the chronicler, who has omitted, and will omit, references to Walter's fatigue in other passages throughout the *Chronicle*, has not only retained the descriptor *lassus*, "weary," from the *Waltharius*, but also has expanded the sentence from the original to include the modifier *oppido*, now emphasizing Walter's fatigue. Why choose here for Walter to be not just tired but "extremely" tired? The reader of either narrative knows that Walter has been involved in a battle, so it is natural and even to be expected that he might be tired, but in other passages in the *Chronicle* that could have carry a similar expectation of Walter's fatigue, the chronicler omits similar language. In this passage, however, as Walter is heading to the palace, it seems that Walter's extreme weariness in the *Chronicle*'s narrative is intended to set up the next scene: it will give the chronicler a narrative "excuse" for Walter to stop and quench his thirst, and to take a cup from Hildegund.

As the *Chronicle*'s "extremely weary" Walter heads inside, he seeks the bedchamber of the king. Along with the characterization of Walter as being fatigued, the *Chronicle*'s version contains a significant change in the location where Walter and Hildegund meet. This change comes about in two ways: a change, via the addition of *-que*, to the modifier *illic*, and an addition to the sentence, the phrase *in ingressu*; the pair now greet each other "in a vestibule," a room that is not found in the *Waltharius*. Walter and Hildegund will spend the next forty lines of the epic alone together, and discussing their relationship. The changes made by the chronicler effectively move the meeting-place of the pair from the sensually-charged intimacy of the king's

bedchamber to a much more neutral site. As we have seen in other examples, the chronicler's changes to a modifier results in a change of emphasis, and this change, in addition to the expansion, emphasizes that the scene is an entirely different physical space from that of the *Waltharius*. Not content with merely adding the new location, the chronicler also ensures that the *Illic* refers specifically to the vestibule, not to the bedroom, by inserting a conjunction, *-que*. He grammatically separates the two words, *cubile* and *illic*, and thereby narratively separates Hildegund from being in the bedroom of the king:

W.220-221

"he sought the bedchamber of the king.
There he met Hildegund sitting alone..."

CN

"he sought the bedchamber of the king.
And there, in the vestibule, he met
Hildegund sitting alone..."

The chronicler has therefore presented his reader with a different version of the meeting between the two, with less potential for sexual/sensual overtones. Walter is extremely tired, Hildegund was never in the bedroom to begin with, and their entire interaction takes place in an entryway.

When Walter sees Hildegund in the *Waltharius* account, he addresses her "after embraces and kisses sweet:"

W.222

Cui post amplexus atque oscula dulcia dixit

CN

Cui post **amabilem** amplexionem atque
dulcia oscula dixit

The *Chronicle*'s version of this line reflects three significant changes, with the overall result of lessened physical connotations: there is an expansion of the line, the addition of the adjective *amabilis*; there is a change in the number of embraces; there is a change of word order.

Although the addition of *amabilis* (and, to some extent, *dulcis*) seems at first glance to enhance the eroticism, perhaps the chronicler sees both *amabilis* and *dulcis* as more Christian terms. The change in number of embraces serves to to lessen the physically charged atmosphere of the *Waltharius* line. Instead of the plural embraces (*amplexus*), of the *Waltharius*, there is only a

singular embrace in the *Chronicle*, and this one embrace is possibly diminished further in the physical sense by being described as *amabilem*, certainly “loving,” but also carrying the connotation of “friendly.” The modifier *amabilem* is also placed prominently in the line, before the actual embrace, giving the reader an immediate signal, before the embrace even happens, that it is to be “friendly,” and possibly even spiritual.⁶¹⁵ This shift in placement of the modifier is paralleled by the shift in word order of the next line, *dulcia oscula*, by which the chronicler gives the “sweetness” of the kisses, importance over the kisses themselves. The *amabilem* and the *dulcia* are both positioned prominently in the respective lines, possibly to impart a divine sweetness to the scene. The kisses remain plural, but in addition to being sweet, are even possibly biblical in nature, *quoniam dulcis est Dominus*⁶¹⁶. It seems safe to say, therefore, that even though the *Chronicle*’s Walter is allowed to exchange one embrace and kisses with his beloved (he’s not a monk yet!), the physicality of the scene has been diminished.

In the next two lines, W.223-224, Walter asks for a drink, and Hildegund fills a goblet with wine. These lines are quoted exactly in the *Chronicle*’s version, with the next changes coming in the following line, W.225, when Hildegund actually hands the cup to Walter, and he makes the sign of the cross:

W.223-225	CN
“Ocius huc potum ferto, quia fessus anhelo.”	“Ocius huc potum ferto, quia fessus anhelo”
Illa mero tallum complevit mox pretiosum Porrexitque viro, qui signans accipiebat	Illa mero tallum complevit mox pretiosum, Atque Walthario ad bibendum obtulit; Qui signans accepit

There are three significant changes to this line: the two expansions, *Walthario* and *ad bibendum*; and the chronicler’s change of the verb from *porrigo* to *offero*. The verb *porrigo* is

⁶¹⁵ Blaise Patristic, “beloved by God”

⁶¹⁶ 1 Peter 2:3, Psalms

used three times in the quoted section of the *Waltharius*. Twice the verb is meant in a physical sense, first when Hildegund is holding out the cup to Walter, and again when Walter returns it, and it is used once in a conceptual sense, when Walter is asking Hildegund to understand the true meaning of his words. The *Waltharius*'s use of *porrigo* is retained in the *Chronicle* only in W.241, when it is used in the sense of grasping an idea, when Walter wishes for Hildegund to “grasp the true meaning” of his words:

W.241	CN
“Absit quod memoras. Dextrorsum porrige sensum.	“Absit quod memoras. Dextrorsum porrige sensum.

The chronicler therefore retains *porrigo* when it is used conceptually, but changes it both times when it is used in its physical sense. In response to W.225 the chronicler changes the verb from *porrexit* to *obtulit*, with Hildegund as the subject. Then in W.228, Walter is now the subject of *porrexit* as he returns the cup, and the chronicler's choice of verb in this line is *reddidit*. When addressing these changes, and within the context of physicality between Walter and Hildegund, it is instructive to look at secondary meanings of *porrigo*, and of the two verbs substituted by the chronicler, *offero* and *reddo*.

In the very first lines of this section, W.220-222 we saw the diminution of potential physicality between Walter and Hildegund. The chronicler seems to continue his avoidance of such potential by the changes made to W.225:

W.225	CN
porrexitque viro, qui signans accipiebat	Atque Walthario ad bibendum obtulit: Qui signans accepit

The direct object for *porrexit* in the sentence is the *tallum* from the line above, with the *viro* left as the indirect object after the non-stated direct object, which would be the cup. *Porrigo* does mean to hold out (a thing), but it has an additional meaning, “to reach after, strive for, seek to

obtain.”⁶¹⁷ With the conjunction separating the direct object, a possible reading could be along the lines of “...and she reached out to the man.” Though it is clear that this is not the intended reading, it seems equally clear that the chronicler has taken steps to remove this particular verb, and to change the order in which the words appear to the reader. The chronicler employs in this line a change in vocabulary, a change in word order, and an expansion with the result not only of removing any physical overtones, but also of increasing the spiritual potential of the scene. The chronicler’s substitution of *Walthario* for *viro* removes the reference to Walter as a man. The word *vir* is often retained in the *Chronicle*, but not in this instance when Walter and Hildegund are alone and she is physically reaching toward him. In addition to the chronicler’s change from *viro* to *Walthario*, he has also expanded the sentence with *ad bibendum* so that there is no doubt concerning the meaning of Hildegund’s action; he has also moved the verb to the end of the sentence. Instead of “and she reaches (for/to) the man,” the reader reads “...to/for Walter for drinking...” and then follows the verb change. The verbs substituted by the chronicler, along with the expansion of *ad bibendum*, serve to lend a more spiritual meaning to the entire scene. *Offero*, in addition to its obvious meaning “offer,” carries the additional, Christian overtones of “to offer to God, consecrate, dedicate,”⁶¹⁸ and “consecrate to God;”⁶¹⁹ it is used also of the action of the bishop who is celebrating the Eucharist.⁶²⁰ With the decided biblical cast lent by *ad bibendum*,⁶²¹ the chronicler has now set up a scene which not only has lost most traces of physicality between an exhausted hero and his betrothed, but also the cup itself and Walter’s act

⁶¹⁷ Lewis & Short (post-Aug.).

⁶¹⁸ Lewis & Short (eccl. Lat.).

⁶¹⁹ Stelten, Ecclesiastical Latin.

⁶²⁰ Souter.

⁶²¹ Matthew 25:35, *sitivi et dedistis mihi bibere*; 26:28, *Bibite*.

of drinking have taken on a biblical, spiritual tone, leading then naturally to Walter's making the sign of the cross at the end of the line. This reduction of physicality continues in W.227, with the omission in the *Chronicle* of the word *astitit*.

W.226-227	CN
virgineamque manum propria constrinxit;	virgineamque manum propria constrinxit at
at illa	illa
astitit et vultum reticens intendit herilem.	reticens vultum intendit in eum

The chronicler's removal of this main verb removes also the image of Hildegund's physical proximity to Walter; the *Chronicle*'s Hildegund is still silent and looking at Walter, but is no longer standing near him. Only Hildegund's suspicion of Walter's words remains in the chronicler's line; her physical proximity is removed. In keeping with the chronicler's pattern of grammatical fidelity, the now-unnecessary *et* of the *Waltharius* is also omitted, and the *Chronicle*'s main verb becomes *intendit*. Another change in this line, the chronicler's substitution of *eum* for *herilem*, changes the direct object of Hildegund's gaze from "lord" to "him." Again, given the possible Christian connotations of *herilis*, it seems that Hildegund will neither be looking at her lord or at her Lord⁶²², but merely at "him," Walter.

In *Waltharius* line W.228 Walter is now the subject of *porrigit*, as he returns the cup to Hildegund. The chronicler's verb of choice in this instance is *reddidit*.⁶²³ As with *offero*, *reddo* certainly has the meaning of "give back" and "return." It also carries the meanings of "to fulfill a promise; consecrate; devote,"⁶²⁴ and, "to give what is due."⁶²⁵ Therefore, when Hildegund offers the cup to Walter, the verb employed in the *Chronicle* is one of an offering to God, *obtulit*, and as Walter takes the cup he makes the sign of the cross, *signans*. Then, when Walter returns

⁶²² Blaise Patristic; Blaise Medieval.

⁶²³ Strecker here reports *reddidit* as a variant in manuscript Y, but reports no variants to *porrexit* in W.225.

⁶²⁴ Blaise Patristic.

⁶²⁵ Stelten, Eccl. Lat.; also Luke 20.25, reddite ergo quae Caesaris sunt Caesari.

the cup to Hildegund, the verb substituted by the chronicler, *redidit*, has the meaning of fulfilling a promise, or rendering what is due. This idea of promise and contract is emphasized immediately by the next line in both the *Waltharius* and the *Chronicle*, in which Walter and Hildegund remember their betrothal:

W.229	CN
Ambo etenim norant de se sponsalia facta	Ambo enim noverant de se sponsalia facta

In the context of these two verbs of consecration and pledge, even though Walter does take Hildegund's hand in W. 226, the sense of the action seems more contractual than affectionate. This connotation is supported by the definitions of *constringo*, a verb which carries more legal and contractual overtones than it does physical/sensual ones: "to bind together,"⁶²⁶ "linked by oath; to contract an obligation."⁶²⁷ The chronicler has reduced the physicality of love in this scene; after one "friendly" embrace and "sweet" kisses, the final touch that remains is one of contract. Therefore, when the two do acknowledge that they are secularly betrothed, the previous changes effectively distance the betrothal of Walter and Hildegund from the physical plane and establish it more in the spiritual.

The final change of note to be discussed in this section comes in W.234. Although the chronicler has made changes, has condensed passages, and has employed omissions throughout the *Chronicle*'s "quoted" *Waltharius* section, he has changed the actual meaning of only two *Waltharius* lines, corresponding to W.234, below, and W.571, to be discussed later:

W.234	CN
Quamne diu tacito premimus haec ipsa palato?"	Quae cum diu talia et alia huius modi audisset

⁶²⁶ Lewis & Short.

⁶²⁷ Blaise Medieval.

The chronicler seemingly has this change of meaning in mind from the beginning of the line, substituting a similarly-sounding *Quae cum diu* for the *Quamne diu* of the *Waltharius*. Then, with the totally changed remainder of the line, the change in meaning is absolute, from the *Waltharius*'s "How long shall we suppress these thoughts in silent mouths?"⁶²⁸ to the *Chronicle*'s "[The maiden,] when she had listened to these and other like words..." As we have already seen, and as will be demonstrated again, the chronicler seems either to change or omit any sense of physicality between Walter and Hildegund, including the mere mention of the mouths of the pair. Also in keeping with the chronicler's pattern of grammatical integrity, his new line not only "scans," but, in its new form as a temporal clause, leads seamlessly into the next *Waltharius* line.

W.235 Virgo per hyroniam meditans haec dicere sponsum	CN [cum...taliam...audisset] virgo verba, cogitabat hoc illi per hyroniam dicere
---	--

This begins a ten-line section that is essentially retained in the *Chronicle*, in which Hildegund questions Walter's motives, and Walter affirms his sincerity. These *Waltharius* lines are reported fairly faithfully by the chronicler, and the passage culminates in Walter's statement to Hildegund that the two are all alone:

W.244 Nullus adest nobis exceptis namque duobus.	CN Adest itaque hic nullus exceptis nobis duobus.
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Although both narratives agree on the element that Walter and Hildegund are alone, this line takes on added significance in the *Chronicle* because of what follows – and what does not.

The longest scene between Walter and Hildegund in the *Waltharius*, that of the text corresponding to *Waltharius* lines 245-260, also encompasses the largest omission of

⁶²⁸ Kratz, p.15.

consecutive lines in the *Chronicle*. In the *Waltharius*, the two are all alone (W.244), and there immediately follows the scene in which they give expression to their feelings of love:

W.245-260

Si nossem temet mihi promptam inpendere mentem
Atque fidem votis servare per omnia cautis,
Pandere cuncta tibi cordis mysteria vellem.”
Tandem virgo viri genibus curvata profatur:
“Ad quaecumque vocas, mi domne, sequar studiose
250 Nec quicquam placitis malim praeponere iussis.”
Ille dehinc: “piget exilii me denique nostri
Et patriae fines reminiscor saepe relictos
Idcircoque fugam cupio celerare latentem.
Quod iam prae multis potuissem forte diebus,
255 Si non Hiltgundem solam remanere dolerem.”
Addidit has imo virguncula corde loquelas:
“Vestrum velle meum, solis his aestuo rebus.
Praecipiat dominus, seu prospera sive sinistra
Eius amore pati toto sum pectore praesto.”
260 Waltharius tandem sic virginis inquit in aurem:

As demonstrated in the discussion of Walter as a warrior, what the chronicler omits has significance in defining his hero. A brief summary of the above *Waltharius* passage⁶²⁹ reveals a continuation of the pattern seen already in the discussion of Walter’s changed relationship with Hildegund in the *Chronicle*:

- 245-247: Walter says if he could count on Hildegund to be faithful and sympathetic, he would show her all the secrets of his heart.
- 248-250: Hildegund bends to Walter’s knees, calls him “lord,” and says she would put nothing above his orders.
- 251-255: Walter reveals that he is weary of exile, and would have left earlier, were he not thinking of Hildegund left by herself.
- 256-259: Hildegund responds, saying that she burns only for his wishes, again calls him “lord,” and says that she is ready to endure anything for love of him.
- 260: Walter whispers into Hildegund’s ear.

The outpouring of emotion is expressed only during this section of the *Waltharius*, and is in the context of continued physical proximity between the two. Walter is ready to share the

⁶²⁹ For this summary, I am again indebted to Kratz’s translation, *Waltharius and Ruodlieb*, p.15.

“mysteries of his heart,” and she, bending to his knees is ready to put his commands above all others. For a couple whom the chronicler is seemingly elevating to a more spiritual plane, these emotions and actions are decidedly worldly. These *mysteria* that Walter would like to share seem not to be Christian “mysteries” of mass and liturgy, but the secrets of a lover’s heart. The omission of physicality between the two, as Hildegund sinks to (and embraces?) Walter’s knees is in keeping with the pattern we have seen of changes in previous lines. Walter’s worldly feelings of weariness, shame⁶³⁰, and desire are omitted, even though these earthly emotions are in reference to his exile and his desire to leave Attila. Walter also admits that he could have departed some time ago, if not for his grief at Hildegund left alone, even though he yearns for his true fatherland. For the reader of the *Waltharius* this statement brings full circle the situation in which Hagan left, but Walter “nevertheless” (*tamen*) stayed behind. Now the reader would understand Walter’s true reasoning: Walter has remained a Hun for his secular love of his betrothed. Hildegund twice addresses Walter (has she risen from her knees?), in W.249-250 and W.257-259, with words that could be addressed to a divine Lord, but instead are spoken to her earthly, beloved lord:

W.249-250

“Where you direct, my lord, I’ll follow eagerly.
For I would not place anything above your orders.”

W.257-259

“Your wish is mine; for these things only I am burning.
My lord commands, and I stand ready to endure,
For love of him with my whole heart, success or failure.”⁶³¹

Hildegund “burns” for the wishes of her “lord.” Whether this vocabulary is read as secular or spiritual, the chronicler does not allow Hildegund such a strong emotion, or to address Walter as

⁶³⁰ *piget*: Lewis and Short, “disgusted, shamed;” Stelten, (it) disgusts; Blaise Patristic, “to be weary of.”

⁶³¹ Kratz, p. 15.

“lord.” Walter is addressed in the *Waltharius* as “lord” by Hildegund only three times, each omitted (or changed, *herilem* to *eum* in line W.227) in the *Chronicle*. The scene between the two lovers ends with W.260, and Walter now speaks into Hildegund’s ear.⁶³² Whether or not Walter is “whispering,” as Kratz suggests, Walter cannot speak into Hildegund’s ear without being close to her. This intimate physical contact ends an emotional, tender love scene worthy of two very secular lovers.

In the *Chronicle*, however, Walter and Hildegund are all alone in W.244, as in the *Waltharius*, but then, with the omission of W.245-260, there immediately follows not the love scene of the *Waltharius*, but a scene in which Walter reveals to Hildegund his plan for escape. The text that follows the line in each narrative gives a totally different sense to the “alone-ness” of the pair: in the *Chronicle*, the fact that Walter and Hildegund are alone gives them the opportunity not to share a love scene, but to plot against the Huns.

The conversation between Walter and Hildegund continues in the *Waltharius*, and resumes in the *Chronicle*, as Walter gives Hildegund specific instructions in preparation for their escape. In both narratives, Hildegund agrees, and then carries out his instructions:

W.261-62

“Publica custodem rebus te nempe potestas
Fecerat, idcirco memor haec mea verba
notato:

CN

Amodo namque esto mente sollicita, quae
extrinsecus es regis reginaeque thesauris
custoda.

The next time in the *Waltharius* that Walter and Hildegund are envisioned as physically close is after they have left Attila’s kingdom, and a soldier is reporting to King Gunther that he has seen them. In both narratives the man describes the beauty of the girl, as she follows the hero:

W.456-458

Hunc incredibili formae decorata nitore

CN

Hunc incredibili forme puella decorata

⁶³² Kratz, p.15 “Then Walter whispered this into the maiden’s ear;”

assequitur calcemque terit iam calce puella.	nitore
Ipsaque robustum rexit per lora caballum	Assequebatur
	ipsaque caballum per lora rexit robustum

The chronicler leaves these three lines of the *Waltharius* almost entirely intact, except for when Hildegund is matching Walter “stride for stride,” *calcemque terit iam calce*. Even this slight mention of physical proximity between the pair is omitted, although they are on their travels and Hildegund is leading a horse.

Beginning with the text corresponding to *Waltharius* line 493, Walter and Hildegund finally stop in their travels, and take shelter in a cave:

W.493-494	CN
Sunt in secessu bini montesque propinqui,	In ipsa itaque sunt bini montes in secessu
	ipsius atque propinqui
inter quos licet angustum specus extat	in quorum medium quamvis angustum sit
amoenum,	spatium tamen specus extat amoenum
W.498	
“Huc,” mox ut vidit iuvenis, “huc” inquit	mox iuvenis ut vidit, “huc,” inquit, “eamus
“eamus,	

The lines which follow contain one of the few references in the *Chronicle* to Walter as “fleeing,” and to the evidence of his fatigue:

W.499-502	CN
his iuvat in castris fessum componere	
corpus.”	
Nam postquam fugiens Avarum discesserat	nam postquam fugiens Avarorum arvis
oris,	discesserat
non aliter somni requiem gustaverat idem	non aliter somni requiem gustaverat idem
quam super innixus clipeo; vix clauserat	quam super innixus clipeo vix clauserat
orbes.	oculos.
W.503-504	CN
Bellica tum demum deponens pondera dixit	tum demum bellica deponens arma dixit
virginis in gremium fusus “Circumspice	virgini, in cuius gremium fuerat fusus,
caute	“circumspice caute

After the avoidance of almost all reference to these elements otherwise, their inclusion in this context seems to point again to a lessening of the potential for physical contact between the two lovers. Earlier, as Walter was going into the palace where he would meet Hildegund, his

weariness was retained and even emphasized by the chronicler. As we have seen, Walter's fatigue in that scene possibly gave Walter a "narrative" reason to stop and visit with Hildegund, and it diminished the idea of physical contact between them. Likewise, in this passage the two lovers are going to find themselves resting in a cave, with certain implications clear to any reader who has heard the story of Dido and Aeneas. The inclusion here of Walter's flight and fatigue possibly removes the implication of physicality between the two in the cave just as it did between the two in their earlier meeting. The reader is reminded, after the description of this *specus...aemoenus*, that the two are in no position to dally in a cave like other epic lovers, but instead are fleeing for their lives. With the omission of W.499, there is no mention of Walter's "body," and even though it is clear that Walter is in desperate need of sleep, the description of Walter himself as tired (*fessus*) is avoided, as is the reference to his physical body, *corpus*. Just as Walter's fatigue gave him an excuse earlier to stop and visit with Hildegund, the plot element of Walter's need for sleep now ensures that any traces of physicality between them are diminished while they have stopped to rest. The chronicler's scene carries much-reduced overtones of sensuality, and might lead a reader to think less about Dido and Aeneas in a cave, and more about two exhausted travelers collapsed in a cave. The chronicler also seems to temper the image of Walter laying his head in Hildegund's lap. In the *Chronicle*, the "virgin" is removed grammatically by a relative clause, and she is dative, *uirgini*, not genitive, *uirginis*: Walter speaks "to the maiden," and although he is lying in a lap, he is not lying in the lap "of the maiden." Of course, there is no one else in whose lap he could possibly be lying, but the change in grammar and word order removes the specificity of the direct reference.

This passage also contains the *Chronicle*'s only association of Walter with "desire," and the *Chronicle*'s text is even changed to include this vocabulary:

W.511-512

CN

Haec ait atque oculos concluderat ipse
nitentes
iamque diu satis optata fruitur requiete.

hec ait statim oculos conclauserat ipse
desiderantes
frui iamdiu satis optata requie.

This is not any desire of Walter himself, but the desire of his eyes to sleep, a desire which presumably overrides all other physical desires. The chronicler again keeps his grammar intact, changing the main verb *fruitur* of the following *Waltharius* line to the complementary infinitive, *desiderantes...frui*. With this change, however, Walter is also removed from the action of “enjoying,” *fruitur*, and it is specifically Walter’s eyes that are not only associated with the “desire,” but also with the “enjoyment.” *Fruor* and *utor* can both be used not only of enjoyment, but sexual enjoyment,⁶³³ and the words seem to remain synonyms in later Latin.⁶³⁴ Walter was associated with the term *usus* in W.426, and in the *Chronicle*, when the whole point of the line was that Walter was both praiseworthy and heroic in his restraint from “enjoying” the maiden:

W.426-427
Namque fugae toto se tempore virginis usu
continuit vir Waltharius laudabilis heros.

CN
Namque toto tempore fuge se virginis usu
continuit vir Waltharius laudabilis heros.

In this case, however, with Walter and Hildegund preparing to linger in their *locus amoenus*, the chronicler again seems to attempt to clarify exactly what it is that Walter, or, rather, Walter’s eyes, “desire” to enjoy. It is sleep, and with the chronicler’s expansion of *statim* to the previous line, the reader is assured that Walter closes his eyes to sleep immediately, and that there will be absolutely no chance of a lovers’ embrace before he falls asleep. The only “desire” associated with the *Chronicle*’s Walter is not a physical desire for his beloved, nor even a patriotic desire to flee the Huns, but the desire to get some sleep.

⁶³³ Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, p.198: “*Vtor* can be compared with *fruor*.” This sentence is in heading (xxv) titled, “‘Pleasure’, etc.” Adams also includes in this section on “pleasure” the term *voluptas*, another word which we have seen omitted by the chronicler.

⁶³⁴ Stelten, *utor*: use, enjoy, make use of, employ; *fruor*: use, enjoy, obtain, delight in.

Hildegund keeps watch while Walter sleeps; in line W.534 she wakes Walter with a “gentle touch,” but as she has seen an enemy approaching, she is following Walter’s specific instructions, almost to the letter, concerning how she should alert him:

W.505-508

Hiltgunt et nebulam si tolli videris atram,
 attactu blando me surgere commonitato,
 et licet ingentem conspexeris ire catervam,
 ne excutias somno subito, mi cara, caveto,

CN

Hildegund et nebulam si tolli videris atram
 tactu blando me surgere conmonitato
 etiam si magnam conspexeris ire catervam
 ne subito me excutias a somno mi kara
 caveto

W.532-534

At procul aspiciens Hiltgunt de vertice
 montis
 pulvere sublato venientes sensit et ipsum
 Waltharium placido tactu vigilare monebat.

CN

At Hiltgund de vertice montis procul
 aspiciens
 pulvere sublato venientes sensit ipsum
 Waltharium placido tactu vigilare monebat.

Once again, when the lovers of the *Chronicle* do share physical contact, the changes made by the chronicler diminish the sensuality of the touch. Just as that previous contact was changed to seem more contractual than loving, it seems clear in this passage, both from the context and from Walter’s previous words, that her touch is meant to be gentle not from affection, but so that a highly trained, alert and fatigued warrior won’t come out of a dead sleep and kill whoever is touching him. Even within the clear context of the circumstances, it seems the chronicler still takes what steps he can to remove Hildegund from physical proximity with Walter. As Walter groggily shakes off sleep and re-arms himself, Hildegund expresses her fear that the Huns have come:

W.542-543

Cominus ecce coruscantes mulier videt
 hastas
 ac stupefacta nimis “Hunos hic” inquit
 “habemus,”

CN

cumque paululum properassent mulier
 corusscantes ut vidit hastas
 stupefacta nimis “Hunos hic” inquit
 “habemus,”

The chronicler has changed W.542 with the omission of the adverbial *cominus*, and an explanatory expansion. *Comminus* carries different connotations of proximity, meaning both “to

stand near (someone),”⁶³⁵ and “(for enemies) to close in battle.” The adverb in line W.542 therefore could be taken to modify Hildegund as she stands close to Walter,⁶³⁶ but could also logically refer to the approach of the enemy that Hildegund has seen. Within the context that the two are resting in a cave, Walter has been sleeping with his head in her lap, and Hildegund has touched him to awaken him, the idea of her physical closeness once Walter wakes is removed altogether in the *Chronicle*. The chronicler clarifies any potential ambiguity about the proximity – Hildegund to Walter, or the enemy to the fugitives? – by omitting altogether the term “closeness,” and expanding the line with an entirely new phrase, the temporal *cumque paululum properassent*, now without doubt referring to the enemy.

As mentioned above in the discussion of the changed line W.234, there is only one other line of the *Chronicle*’s *Waltharius* section which undergoes an absolute change in meaning. This changed line also represents the last change in relationship status between Walter and Hildegund in the *Chronicle*’s “quoted” section of the *Waltharius*.

W.570-571

“...quam si forte volente deo intercepero
solam
Tunc” ait “ex pugna tibi, Hiltgunt sponsa,
reservor”

CN

“...quem si forte volente Deo intercepero
solum
ex aliis namque formido nulla.”

“God willing, if I thwart [Hagan’s] skill
alone,” he said,
“Then from the battle I’ll be saved for you,
my bride.”

“...if perhaps I catch him alone, with God
willing,
I have no fear of any others.”

In the *Chronicle*, two elements of Walter’s statement are omitted with the chronicler’s change to line W.571. There is no expression of Walter’s intent after the battle, or even that there is an “after the battle.” The reader of the *Chronicle* already knows that this is the earlier story of

⁶³⁵ Lewis & Short, “close by, at hand (without the idea of combat)”; DuCange, “*prope, iuxta*”.

⁶³⁶ Kratz: “The woman, standing next to him, sees flashing spears...”

Walter, who has come to Novalesse to be a monk; the entire “quoted” *Waltharius*, as mentioned before, could be viewed as the “flashback” of the true epic of the monastic Walter. Part of the narrative retained later by the chronicler is the event of Walter’s marriage to Hildegund, but the *Chronicle*’s Walter is not now, and will not be later, “reserved” or “saved” for her (*tibi...reservor*), but for God. The previous omissions or changes which emphasize Walter’s lack of fear are now possibly given further significance here by the chronicler’s absolutely changed line, in which Walter states that “with God favoring” him, he will have no fear of others. This statement refers of course to Walter’s secular emotion, that he fears no warriors, *aliis*, other than Hagan. This last “quote” of Walter’s, however, seven “lines” from the end of the *Chronicle*’s “quoted” section of the *Waltharius* seems also to reaffirm Walter’s spirituality – with God on his side, *uolente Deo*, Walter has fear of no others.

An additional adaptation in the *Chronicle* resulting in the elevation of the relationship between Walter and Hildegund to a more spiritual level is that of Hildegund’s becoming more like Walter, both spiritually and secularly, and her own changed role as a captive of the Huns. Hildegund’s “part” in the epic is of course much smaller than Walter’s, but even within this small role, several references to her have been changed, changes which seem to increase her spirituality, emphasize her suitability for Walter, and re-shape her relationship with the queen. These changes are evident in the very first line in which Hildegund is prominent:

W.110	CN
Uirgo etiam captiua deo praestante	Uirgo etiam, quae cum ipsis ducta fuerat
supremo	captiva, Deo sibi prestante

The first expansion of this *Waltharius* line is explanatory in nature, much like the previously discussed expansion that explained Queen Ospin’s name. The chronicler has alluded to Hildegund’s part of the story only briefly, introducing her in an earlier passage of the

Chronicle, II.8.4-6. This passage is not part of the “quoted” *Waltharius* section, but the information concerning the betrothal roughly corresponds to W.80-82:

W.80-82	CN
Nam iusiurandum Heriricus et Alphere reges	Hii vero reges iuramentum
Inter se dederant, pueros quod consociarent,	inter se dederant ut quando ipsi pueri ad legitimam etatem primitus venissent, se invicem sociarent,
Cum primum tempus nubendi venerit illis.	scilicet cum tempus nubendi illis venisset.

The reader of the *Chronicle* therefore does not necessarily have in mind at this stage of the narrative the background information that Hildegund was taken hostage along with the boys, so the *cum ipsis* serves as a reminder to the reader that she was taken at the same time. This reminder, not only that she was a “captive,” *captiua*, but also that she was “taken away” *quae cum ipsis ducta erat*, emphasizes the fact that Hildegund’s service to the queen is involuntary, already reducing the idea of affection between the two women. As we have seen previously the diminution of Walter’s role among the Huns, and that of his friendship with Attila, so we see here the de-emphasis of Hildegund’s relationship with the queen.⁶³⁷ With the further expansion of *sibi* to the phrase *deo prestante*, the chronicler seems now to indicate that God is specifically coming to the aid of Hildegund in her captivity. As the chronicler also used an expansion in W.552-553 to make clear Walter’s belief that God had, and would, come to his aid, this expansion, clarifying God’s support of Hildegund, signals that she is an object of holiness to equal Walter.

⁶³⁷ That the queen felt affection for Hildegund is evident with the her reference to Hildegund as *karam...alumpnam* in W.379. It is worth noting, however, that this reference comes after the queen discovers that Hildegund has left, and there is no longer any relationship whatsoever between them. At this point in the narrative, the queen may call her “dear child” all she likes, but Hildegund is gone.

In the following line, there seems to be an attempt by the chronicler to continue the clarification of the role between Hildegund and the queen, through two expansions of the *Waltharius* line:

W.111	CN
Reginae vultum placavit et auxit amorem,	reginae placavit vultum, et ipsa auxit illi amorem.

By adding *ipsa* and *illi*, the chronicler seems to make clear to the reader that it is the queen's love for Hildegund that is growing, not Hildegund's for the queen, the *et auxit amorem* of the *Waltharius* possibly not being clear enough.⁶³⁸ The potential of a relationship between Hildegund and her captors is also mitigated by the chronicler's change of vocabulary in line W.112:

W.112	CN
Moribus eximiis operumque industria habundans.	Ex nobilis ergo moribus et operum habundans sapientiae ,

Hildegund's character now is described as "noble" instead of "excellent," again likening her to Walter, this time through a reminder of her lineage: they were both born of kings. The change of descriptor also suggests that Hildegund's character is innate, "noble," and is not an outward "excellence" potentially shaped by the Huns. The chronicler also now endows her with *sapientia* instead of *industria*. Instead of the "industry" or "diligence" that Hildegund has for her work on behalf of the Huns in the *Waltharius*, she now has "wisdom," a word imbuing Hildegund not only with "wisdom" in the intellectual or philosophical sense, but also with the "wisdom" that comes with the knowledge of God, and that is given to those united to Him.⁶³⁹ In the entire *Waltharius* section "quoted" in the *Chronicle*, the only instance of *sapiens* in the epic poem describes Walter in W.240. The chronicler adds exactly one more use of the word when he gives

⁶³⁸ Kratz, p. 9: "The captive maiden too...was pleasing in the queen's sight, and increased her love."

⁶³⁹ Blaise Patristic.

this trait to Hildegund, certainly again likening her with Walter; now they both – and only they – are endowed with “wisdom.”

Through these changes, Hildegund has now become like Walter in three ways: they both enjoy the favor of God; they are both noble in lineage, and they both are wise, in both the secular and spiritual connotations of the word. Hildegund’s relationship to the Huns, with its proportionally fewer lines, has been recast just as has Walter’s. The elements examined in Walter’s changed role with the Huns are found also changed in Hildegund’s: her role with the Huns is diminished; there is an attempt to clarify the affection between the girl and the queen, just as there was to clarify that between the boy and the king; just as Walter’s attributes that could be perceived as less than Christian are tempered, Hildegund likewise is given more of a spiritual character. If the chronicler possibly had in mind a Walter who would be changed to embody the spiritual warrior of Novalese, it seems equally possible that he had in mind a betrothed of Walter who would be changed to be like him secularly, and be worthy of him spiritually, thereby suggesting a higher level to their earthly union. In the *Chronicle*, Walter and Hildegund are reported to have had a son, Ratherius.⁶⁴⁰ This obviously secular union between the two is mentioned, however, in order to tell of a spiritual wonder wrought by their descendant: a relic of Ratald, grandson of Walter and Hildegund, is employed by a noblewoman to put out a fire.⁶⁴¹

⁶⁴⁰ CN II.12.5 “This Ratald was the son of Walter’s son, Ratherius by name. Hildegund, the maiden named before, bore this son to Walter.” The marriage *per se* is not mentioned in the *Chronicle*, but surely may safely be assumed.

⁶⁴¹ CN II.12.8 “After a great conflagration she remembered the head [of Ratald], and, taking it outside, held it up to the fire, which then miraculously was extinguished.”

Conclusion

Even in the face of evidence that certainly suggests that the chronicler had his own purpose in mind in changing the epic of Walter, it would be unrealistic to imagine that every single change in the *Chronicle*'s narrative of the hero can be fitted into a particular category, and foolhardy to suggest omnisignificance; neither is the aim of this dissertation. To paraphrase a famous phrase, "a *gladius* is sometimes just a *gladius*." There are also seemingly significant changes made by the chronicler that remain inexplicable. The largest expansion in this "quoted" section of the *Chronicle* comes within the context of *Waltharius* line W.321-322, when Walter has arranged for the Huns to become drunk at the banquet:

W.321-322

Et licet ignicremis vellet dare moenia flammis,
Nullus, qui causam potuisset scire, remansit.

And if he wished to give the walls to hungry flames,
There was nobody left who should have known what happened.

The chronicler expands this sentence:

CN

Eciam si **tota civitas igne fuisse succensa, et ipsa flamivoma
super ipsos crassari videretur, scilicet minitans mortem,**
Nullus remansit, qui scire potuisset causam.

And now, **if the whole city had been engulfed with fire and the spewing flame itself
seemed to thicken over them, that is, threatening death,** not one remained who could
have known the cause.

What to do with this expansion? There may be a possible parallel to Juvenus⁶⁴², and Kratz suggests of the *Waltharius* line that it may contain a reference to the burning of Attila's palace in

⁶⁴²Thanks to Robert Babcock for this reference:
Evangeliorum Libri Quattuor, Preface, 21-24:

the Niebelungen saga⁶⁴³. As tantalizing as it may be to imagine the chronicler presenting Walter as avenging angel – Christ-like? – there is not enough evidence within the *Chronicle*’s text, not enough of a pattern, to make an informed conjecture on what clearly was an important change for the chronicler.

A close analysis of the *Chronicle*’s Walter narrative, however, does reveal enough of an overall pattern in the chronicler’s changes to warrant a closer look not just at this section, but at episodes throughout the rest of the *Chronicle*. This dissertation has aimed to move beyond the concept of a chronicler copying his Walter narrative either from a faulty text or recalling it from a faulty memory⁶⁴⁴, or of a chronicle that surely has pieces missing because scholars have not fully analyzed the pieces there. It likewise seems possible to move beyond the analysis of historical fact in the *Chronicle*, and the listing of sources possibly influencing it, and to examine further the chronicler’s use of those facts and sources that he had at his disposal.

Nec metus, ut mundi rapiant incendia secum
Hoc opus; hoc etenim forsitan me subtrahet igni
Tunc, cum flammiuoma descendet nube coruscans
Iudex, altithroni genitoris gloria, Christus.

⁶⁴³ Kratz, *Waltharius*, p.202.

⁶⁴⁴ Dronke, p. 50, “ – is the monk simply misremembering the Latin *Waltharius*?”

CHAPTER 4: THE DEPENDENCE OF THE *CHRONICLE* ON THE *WALTHARIUS* OUTSIDE THE QUOTED SECTIONS

Beyond the sections of the *Chronicle* in which the *Waltharius* is quoted directly – though with significant adaptations, as discussed in the previous chapter – there are also portions of the *Chronicle* in which we can see a continuing influence of the *Waltharius* in more subtle ways, including in narrative and structural parallels. In this chapter, I discuss how the chronicler re-works the epic structurally as opposed to textually. It is helpful here to distinguish between the two Walters presented in the *Chronicle*, and to refer to them differently: the epic hero of the *Waltharius* as the “epic” Walter (even when he is changed by the chronicler), and the *Chronicle*’s later Walter who becomes a monk as the “monastic” Walter.

This chapter consists of two sections. The first section examines the chronicler’s continued use of the *Waltharius* narrative from II.9.186 through II.9.200; I will call this the “paraphrased” section. In this section the *Chronicle*’s “epic” Walter narrative is completed, and the last sentence introduces the transition to the “monastic” story. The second section focusses on the “monastic” Walter in CN II.7-8 and II.10-12 (the portion of the *Chronicle* directly before the “quoted” section, and the portion immediately following the “paraphrased” section). In both the “paraphrased” and the “monastic” sections there are connections between the *Chronicle* and the *Waltharius*, but they are less about specific vocabulary than was the case in the “quoted” section. The verbal parallels in the “paraphrased” section are significantly reduced from what is found in the “quoted” section, and in the “monastic” section, the references to the *Waltharius*

have very little to do with vocabulary at all; rather they concern the similarity of events between the two narratives.

The “Paraphrased” Section

Although we have left the “quoted” section of the *Chronicle*, parallels continue between the *Waltharius* and the *Chronicle* at the end of Book II, in the fifteen sentences that are a “paraphrase” of the events of the *Waltharius*. Every remaining sentence concerning the *Chronicle*’s “epic” Walter in II.9 corresponds directly to a section of the *Waltharius* that was otherwise omitted in the *Chronicle*. (Saying this, it is well to clarify that not all of the omitted sections of the *Waltharius* are likewise included in this “paraphrased” section of the *Chronicle*.) A number of the chronicler’s methods of adaptation and alteration to the *Waltharius* that are discussed above in relation to the “quoted” section also seem to continue in this “paraphrased” section of the epic story; some of these same methods continue into the “monastic” section as well, and will be treated more fully there. The sentences of the “paraphrased” section of the *Chronicle* follow:

CN.II.9.186-200

186 Qui licet invitus dicta Haganoni acquievisset, misit ilico e suis, mandans Walthario, ut redderet pecuniam quam deferebat.

The king unwillingly acquiesced to Hagan’s advice, and at once sent some of his men, demanding that Walter give back the money which he was carrying.

187 Ad quos Waltharius talia fertur dedisse verba:

Walter is said to have responded words of this sort to them:

188 “Ego patri suo eam non tuli neque sibi.

“I did not take it from his father, nor from him,

189 Set si voluerit eam capere, vi defendo eam fundens alterius sanguinem.”

but if he wishes to seize it, I will defend it with force, while shedding others’ blood.”

190 Cumque hec denunciata essent Cundhario, protinus misit, qui eum oppugnarent.

And when these things had been reported to Gunther, he immediately sent men to fight him.

191 Vir autem ille fortis ut erat, viriliter se ab ipsis modicum defendens, ilico interfecit.
The hero, however, brave man that he was, courageously defended himself from them for a short while, then killed [them].

192 Rex autem ut vidit, et ipse protinus feroci animo cum reliquis super eum venit.
The king, when he saw this, with wild passion joined the rest of his men himself in attacking Walter.

193 Waltharius vero nichil formidans, sed magis ut supra viriliter instabat prelio.
But Walter, fearing nothing, stood even more bravely in battle than before.

194 Cepit autem et ex illis Waltharius victoriam, occisis cunctis preter regem et Haganonem.
Walter seized the victory from them, and they were all killed, except the king and Hagan.

195 Qui cum eum nullatenus superare possent, simulaverunt fugam.
When they were able by no means to conquer him, they pretended to flee.

196a Sperans ergo Waltharius eos inde discedere, reversus in statione
196b acceptaque omni suppellectili sua, et ipse mox cum Ildegunda ascensis equis cepit iter agere.
Walter, hoping that they were leaving, therefore returned to the cave.
After gathering all their supplies and mounting their horses, both he and Hildegund began to go on their way.

197 Cumque Waltharius egressus esset ab antro quinque vel octo stadia, tunc leti posterga ipsius recurrentes memorati viri, quasi victum eum iam extra rupe cogitabant.
But when Walter had gone about five or eight stades from the cave, the king and Hagan alertly ran after him, thinking that he was already defeated now that he was outside of the cave.

198 Contra quos ilico Waltharius quasi leo insurgens, armis protectus fortiter debellabat bellantibus sibi.
Immediately Walter like a raging lion protected by his weapons bravely fought those who were fighting against him.

199 Qui diu multumque invicem pugnantes ac pre nimia lassitudine et siti deficientes, iam non valebant virorum fortissimum superare.
Waging war for a long time one after the other, and failing from weariness and thirst, they were not able to overcome that bravest of men.

200 Et ecce respicientes viderunt a sagma Waltharii vasculum vini dependere.
And, at last, looking back, they saw a flask of wine hanging from Walter's saddle.

To begin discussion of the “paraphrased” section, it is worthwhile to start with the last line of the “quoted” section:

W.577-578

vel, si forte petat pacem sine sanguine
praebens / thesaurum.

Perhaps he may seek peace by giving gold
without
Bloodshed;

CN II.9.185b

vel si forte petat pacem prebens sine sanguine.

...or if perhaps he might seek peace, offering
[it] without bloodshed

In the final line of his “quotation” of the *Waltharius*, the chronicler has employed an omission and a change in word order with the result that both the meaning and the emphasis of his line are changed. The *Waltharius* sentence ends with Hagan’s suggestion that Walter might buy his way out of fighting by giving up the treasure. *Thesaurum* is the first word of W.578, and the final word of the sentence, and is the direct object of the participle *praebens*; the king hopes that Walter will seek peace and offer up the treasure. In the *Chronicle*, however, since there is no mention of the “treasure,” *pacem* now becomes the object of both *petit* and *praebens*, and Walter is both seeking and offering peace. The peace, if there is one, will now be an equal decision between the two parties to avoid bloodshed, and no treasure will exchange hands to buy it. Additionally, the very image of Walter being in possession of “treasure” is also omitted, and the chronicler’s Walter is presented as a traveler willing to make peace, not a thief carrying stolen treasure.

The first sentence of the “paraphrased” section of the *Chronicle* is II.9.186, in which Gunther sends men to Walter to make demands. This sentence has its narrative counterpart in the *Waltharius* (W.601-603) when Gunther’s man Gamalo demands the “treasure” that Walter is carrying.

CN II.186

Qui licet invitus dicta Haganoni acquievisset, misit ilico e suis, mandans Walthario, ut redderet pecuniam quam deferebat.

The king unwillingly acquiesced to Hagan's advice, and at once sent some of his men, demanding that Walter give back the money which he was carrying.

The demand in the *Chronicle*, however, is not for the "treasure," *metallum*, *thesaurus* or *gaza* of the *Waltharius*, but rather for "money," *pecunia*. The word *pecunia* is not used at all in the *Waltharius*, and is used in the *Chronicle*'s Walter narrative only when the Huns return with their hostages and booty (CN II.9.1), and here, when Gunther makes his demands of Walter.⁶⁴⁵ This change of vocabulary has the effects of diminishing the importance of what Walter is carrying (and what he has taken), and it also makes Gunther sound more like a highway robber asking for "your money or your life" than a king legitimately (at least in his own mind) trying to recover wealth that his land had sent to Attila. *Pecunia* not only suggests the language of a common bandit, but also presents Walter as a traveller carrying the "money" necessary for his journey; he is not a fugitive escaping with "treasure" that could rightly belong to Gunther (or to the Huns). The demand as represented in this line of the *Chronicle* (*ut redderet pecuniam...*) echoes the vocabulary of the *Waltharius* when Walter responds to Gunther's man Gamallo in W.654, *Quid quaeris? Vel quid reddi, importune, coartas?* The change enhances the image of Gunther's greed, while diminishing Walter's. The reduction of Gunther to a common bandit suggests that the chronicler is looking ahead, and envisions Gunther as a parallel to the bandits whom Walter will fight in the monastic narrative.

The following lines of the *Chronicle*, II.9.187-188, have their parallel in *Waltharius* W.598-672, a section in which Gunther and Hagan pursue and confront Walter, and Walter

⁶⁴⁵ Treasure, riches, and tribute are referred to in the *Waltharius* variously, including *scrinia*, (the chests into which the treasure was placed), *metallum*, *gaza*, *thesaurus*, *res*; also *censum* and *tributum* when specific to tribute paid to the Huns. The word *pecunia*, "money," is not found in the *Waltharius*.

responds to Gunther's demands. In the *Waltharius* (W.655) Walter's response to the demand is that he is not a thief, and has taken nothing from the king, *Numquid Gunthario furabar talia regi?* In these sentences in the *Chronicle*, Walter offers only the gist of the conversation that occurs in the *Waltharius*:

II.9.187-188

Ad quos Waltharius talia fertur dedisse verba:
"Ego patri suo eam non tuli neque sibi.

Walter is said to have responded words of this sort to them:
"I did not take it from his father, nor from him..."

The chronicler adds the background detail that Walter was not the one who originally took the treasure, therefore negating Gunther's rights to what Walter is carrying.

The chronicler's Walter, in contrast to the epic model, immediately says that he will fight rather than give up the money (the antecedent of *eam* in II.189 is still the *pecunia* of II.186).

II.9.189

Set si voluerit eam capere, vi defendo eam fundens alterius sanguinem."
but if he wishes to seize it, I will defend it with force, while shedding others' blood."

This particular paraphrase moves the reader through the events of the *Waltharius* more quickly, arriving immediately at the battle between Walter and the Franks. With this quick but definite refusal, the chronicler's Walter is prepared to defend when under attack, but is not fighting (necessarily) for "treasure."

In the *Chronicle*, the news of Walter's refusal is relayed to Gunther, who immediately sends men to attack him:

II.9.190-191

Cumque hec denunciata essent Cundhario, protinus misit, qui eum oppugnarent.
Vir autem ille fortis ut erat, viriliter se ab ipsis modicum defendens, ilico interfecit.

And when these things had been reported to Gunther, he immediately sent men to fight him.

The hero, however, brave man that he was, courageously defended himself from them for a short while, then killed [them].

This is the first mention in the *Chronicle* of Walter's combats against Gunther's men; as in the *Waltharius*, Walter is victorious and kills his foes⁶⁴⁶. The verb assigned to Gunther's actions is *oppugnare*, to Walter's *defendere*.

II.9.192

Rex autem ut vidit, et ipse protinus feroci animo cum reliquis super eum venit.
The king, when he saw this, with wild passion joined his men himself in attacking Walter.

II.9.193

Waltharius vero nichil formidans, sed magis ut supra viriliter instabat prelio.
But Walter, fearing nothing, stood even more bravely in battle than before.

Dronke points out that the *Chronicle* departs from the story line with II.9.192, as the king does not go into battle against Walter in the *Waltharius*; he suggests that there is an echo here of an oral tradition in which Gunther was "not as cowardly."⁶⁴⁷ The narrative result of this change in the *Chronicle*, though, is that Gunther and Hagan will be in position right away when the rest of the Franks are killed; this immediacy will allow the *Chronicle*'s story to continue without the reader having to wait for Gunther to "catch up" to the rest of the Franks in order to join the battle against Walter. There is no reason to posit an "oral tradition" for the change in the *Chronicle*, as the alteration seems to be an intentional adaptation to suit the chronicler's altered narrative.

Walter is victorious, and there are only the final two enemies remaining:

II.9.194

Cepit autem et ex illis Waltharius victoriam, occisis cunctis preter regem et Haganonem.
Walter seized the victory from them, and they were all killed, except the king and Hagan.

⁶⁴⁶ In all, Walter slays eleven of Gunther's men before his final confrontation against Gunther and Hagan; the battle scenes commence with W.668, and the last of Gunther's men die in W.1061.

⁶⁴⁷ Dronke, p.47

With all of the Franks now out of the way, “except the king and Hagan,” the chronicler has briskly moved past almost four hundred lines of single combats in the *Waltharius* (W.668-1061). Here too it is worth noting the language of the *Chronicle*, Walter “takes the victory” (a perfectly respectable “Christian” action), and the Franks “were killed” (no direct agency on the part of Walter in the slaughter) – the chronicler is employing here the same methods of adapting his hero to a Christian and monastic context that we observed in the “quoted” section. He now sets up the final battle of the *Waltharius*, that between Walter and Gunther/Hagan:

II.9.195

Qui cum eum nullatenus superare possent, simulaverunt fugam.

When they were able by no means to conquer him, they pretended to flee.

This sentence condenses the passage in the *Waltharius*, W.1116-1129, in which Hagan suggests to Gunther his plan that the two men pretend to depart, hide, and then ambush Walter when he thinks himself safe:

W.1116-1119

Secedamus eique locum praestemus eundi

et positi in speculis...

donec iam castrum securus deserat artum,

nos abiisse ratus.

Let us depart, give him a chance to go away,

Then hide in caves and let our horses graze the meadows

Until, believing we have gone, now safe, he quits

His narrow stronghold.⁶⁴⁸

The chronicler’s changes to the *Waltharius* take the agency of strategic planning from Hagan, and reduce Walter’s enemies from skilfull tacticians to cowardly tricksters. The “flight” rarely assigned to the *Chronicle*’s Walter is here assigned instead to Gunther and Hagan, with the additional context of pretense.

⁶⁴⁸ Kratz, p.55

In the *Waltharius*, there are several lines describing Walter's uncertainty regarding his foes' (and his own) next move: He intelligently begins to weigh his options, *tum secum sapiens coepit tractare.../ utrum...an* (W.1135-1137); he is assailed by concerns, *Aestate immensis curarum fluctibus* (W.1138); he is in doubt of their plans, *Ambierat prorsus, quae sit sententia menti / hostis...* (W.1142-1143); he has his own fears, *Terret...silva*, (W.1147); and he finally decides to remain where he is. These several verbs describing Walter's doubts, and these many lines of the *Waltharius* are condensed by the chronicler into a single sentence containing the participle, *Sperans*, that distills the end result of all of the *Waltharius* verbs: Walter hopes they have left.

CN II.9.196

Sperans ergo Waltharius eos inde discedere, reversus in statione acceptaque omni suppellectili sua, et ipse mox cum Ildegunda ascensis equis cepit iter agere.

Walter, hoping that they were leaving, therefore returned to the cave; after gathering all their supplies and mounting their horses, both he and Hildegund began to go on their way.

In W.1119, when Hagan lays out his plan for the king, Hagan hopes that Walter will fall for the trick, *nos abisse ratus*. Just as the agency of strategic planning was taken from the Franks in the sentence discussed above (CN II.9.195), so is omitted from this sentence even the idea contained in the *Waltharius* that Walter might have fallen for the trick. The *Chronicle's* Walter doesn't "think [they] have gone;" he "hopes" that they are departing – a verb certainly suggesting that he entertains other, more negative, possibilities – and he returns to the cave, where the chronicler has the couple pack their things and go on their way.

In the next sentence, Walter sets out from the cave, whence he will ride into the ambush laid by Gunther and Hagan:

CN.II.197

Cumque Waltharius egressus esset ab antro quinque vel octo stadia, tunc leti posterga ipsius recurrentes memorati viri, quasi victum eum iam extra rupe cogitabant.

But when Walter had gone about five or eight stades from the cave, the king and Hagan alertly ran after him, thinking that he was already defeated now that he was outside of the cave.

In the *Waltharius*, W.1127-1128, Hagan and the king set out to find a place for their ambush.

Several lines later, in W.1208, Walter is said to have gone “about a mile,” *Mille fere passus transcendit*, before the attack by Hagan and Gunther commences. Although paraphrasing, and compressing several lines of the *Waltharius* into one sentence, the chronicler still includes in it the detail from the *Waltharius* of how far Walter had proceeded before he was ambushed. The *Chronicle* too relays exactly how far down the road Walter’s enemies had gone, but employs different spatial terminology, “5 or 8 stades from the cave.”⁶⁴⁹ The chronicler even includes the detail from the *Waltharius* that Hagan and Gunther attacked Walter from behind. This was part of Hagan’s plan in W.1120, and then it happened in fact (W.1210-11):

W.1120

insurgamus et attonitum post terga sequamur;
“We rise up from behind, pursue the startled man;”

W.1210-11

[puella] respiciens post terga videt descendere binos
quodam colle viros raptim et sine more meantes...

[The girl] While glancing back saw two men coming rapidly
Down from a hill who were advancing without pause.

In the *Waltharius*, Walter is made aware of the trap by Hildegund, who was looking behind her in fear. Hildegund is no longer in the *Chronicle*’s narrative, however, so Walter himself now has the agency of the discovery (one imagines), and he begins to fight:

⁶⁴⁹ A *stade* is 1/8 of a mile, so the distance is almost exact.

CN II.9.198

Contra quos ilico Waltharius quasi leo insurgens, armis protectus fortiter debellabat bellantibus sibi.

Immediately Walter like a raging lion protected by his weapons bravely fought those who were fighting against him.

The simile of II.9.198 recalls the epic similes in the *Waltharius* when Walter is compared to a bear. Hagan has a vision in a dream that Walter (as the bear) rips off Gunther's leg (W.1337-1342). This vision comes to pass in reality in the *Waltharius* when the men fight, and Walter indeed cuts off Gunther's leg. This 6-line simile of the *Waltharius* is compressed by the chronicler into one phrase, *quasi leo*. By comparing Walter to a lion instead of a bear, the chronicler possibly invokes the name of Walter's horse, *Leo*, whom Walter named specifically for his bravery. The bear of the *Waltharius* is an animal hunted by dogs, but the *Chronicle's* Walter, envisioned as the lion, fights bravely against "those attacking him," not against hounds. Instead of using the defenses of a beast, the lion fights with "weapons," *armis*, lending the animal a hero's tools. Continuing a tendency noted in the "quoted" section, the *Chronicle's* Walter fights only when attacked, and is always outnumbered; additionally, this attack is a cowardly one from behind.

II.9.199

Qui diu multumque invicem pugnantes ac pre nimia lassitudine et siti deicientes, iam non valebant virorum fortissimum superare.

Waging war for a long time one after the other, and failing from weariness and thirst, they were not able to overcome that bravest of men.

There is a possible hint in this passage of the single combats of the *Waltharius*, as Gunther and Hagan fight Walter "one after the other." This battle seems to come to a draw, since Walter's enemies are not able to defeat him, and they depart (or they at least look back), and see a flask of wine hanging from Walter's saddle:

II.9.200

Et ecce respicientes viderunt a sagma Waltharii vasculum vini dependere.

And at last, looking back, they saw a flask of wine hanging from Walter's saddle.

This reference to the wine is all that remains of the wine-drinking that the combatants shared at the end of the battle scene in the *Waltharius*. This sentence ends chapter II.9 as well as the *Chronicle*'s "epic" narrative of Walter. With the next sentence, II.10.1 the reader's attention is brought from the battlefield back to the monastery, and from the "epic" hero back to the "monastic" hero.

The "Monastic" Section

In my discussion of the relationship between the *Chronicle* and the *Waltharius*, I have analyzed first the "quoted" and "paraphrased" sections, sections which encompass the *Chronicle* chapter II.9 and the "epic" Walter. For the chronicler's reader, though, the narrative introduction to Walter comes before the "quoted" section, in the first "monastic" section, chapters II.7 and II.8, when the reader is told of "a certain monk" who lived at Novalese. These two chapters of the *Chronicle* introduce the epic ideas that will define the monastic hero; the chapters contain epic themes and real parallels to the poem, well beyond the confines of the sections that have been quoted directly or paraphrased in II.9. Following the "epic" story of II.9, the second "monastic" section, chapters II.10-12, then shows a continuity of tendencies observed in both the "quoted" and the "paraphrased" sections of the narrative. With the "monastic" sections, we have moved rather far from the close textual analysis of the "quoted" section, and even from the references of the "paraphrased" section. The chronicler's new story of Walter as a monk is never totally divorced from the epic, though; just as the epic figure from the *Waltharius* has been re-cast throughout the *Chronicle* into a monastic form, also re-cast are general epic themes of

combat, challenges, travel and the search for home that are found in the *Waltharius*. There is likewise a continuation of the chronicler's methods as he employs omissions, expansions, and alteration to create his own epic story.

The chronicler in the first sentence of II.7 introduces a "certain monk, a gardener" of Novalese, and then announces the unequivocally epic nature of this monk by quoting lines from an otherwise unknown poem by "a certain wise verse-maker:"

CN.II.7.3-6

"Waltharius fortis, quem nullus terruit hostis
Colla superba domans, victor ad astra volans.
Vicerat hic totum duplici certamine mundum,
Insignis bellis, clarior ast meritis.
Hunc Boreas rigidus, tremuit quoque torridus Indus;
Ortus et occasus solis eum metuit.
Cuius fama suis titulis redimita coruscis,
Ultra caesareas scandit abhinc aquilas."⁶⁵⁰

"Mighty Walter, whom no enemy frightened,
tamer of proud necks, a victor flying to the stars
conquered the entire world in two sorts of contest,
for he was outstanding in war, but even more shining in worthy deeds.
At him stiff Boreas trembled, and the torrid Indus;
the rising and the setting of the sun feared him.
His fame, crowned by his shining glories,
ascends henceforth beyond the eagles of Caesar."

Alessio and others consider that these lines were not composed by the chronicler, and that the verse about this Walter "more shining in worthy deeds" does not necessarily refer to monastic deeds.⁶⁵¹ In the context of a monastic chronicle, however, it seems entirely possible that, for the chronicler and his readers at least, the lines of the poem would have Christian significance. The whole point of the *Chronicle*'s Walter, the "victor flying to the stars," "conquering the world," is that the monastic Walter will indeed be "more shining in worthy deeds," because of his life at

⁶⁵⁰ These lines are not presented in verse format in the CN ms.

⁶⁵¹ Alessio, p.75, n.7.1.

Novalese. The sentiment that Walter's fame "ascends...beyond the eagles of Caesar" could surely carry the a double significance of Walter's renown on earth for his epic deeds, and his reward in heaven for his good works in the monastery. The reader is therefore introduced to Walter in the context of the monastery, and then is given lines about Walter's earthly military fame and his renown at the end of his career. For the reader of the *Chronicle*, this career will culminate and end at Novalese. In a way, then, this introduction and information, with its pattern of monk-to-warrior-to-monk, mirrors in the first lines of the opening chapter of the Walter story the *in medias res* technique of monk-to-warrior-to-monk employed on the larger scale throughout the *Chronicle*'s Walter narrative. Whatever the authorship or provenance of these lines, the chronicler has signalled his epic intent (and also possibly his structural intent), and has brought the reader "into the middle of things," by introducing Walter as an aged monk and giving the epitaphic notice of his deeds and his fame.

Chapter II.8 begins with the chronicler's stated intent to give specific answers to questions about Walter:

II.8.1-2

Hic ergo Uualtharius quis vel unde nuperrime fuerit, vel a quo patre genitus sit, non est bonum silencio abscondere.

Fuit enim quidam rex in Aquitanie regnum nomine Alferus.

In the *Waltharius*, Hagan suggests to Gunther that they find out information about the warrior they are following, W.575-576:

W.575-576

...Pergant primum, qui cuncta requirant,
et genus et patriam nomenque locumque relictum,

The questions asked in the *Waltharius* – the typical epic trio of questions asked of a stranger – correspond exactly to the information offered by the chronicler. In the *Chronicle* these questions are asked only of Walter, not of abbots or other characters. The chronicler's (indirect) questions

serve as a pathway by which the chronicler may enter into the “flashback” portion of his “epic” story, as the answers to these questions begin the background material compressed from the *Waltharius*. The chronicler in answering these questions in the following four sentences (II.8.3-6) gives the background information about Walter and the other hostages, Hildegund and Hagan. He gives the information in reverse order of the *Waltharius* (Hagan, then Hildegund, then Walter), but in order of importance for his Walter narrative. He begins first with King Alferus and his son Walter in II.8.2-3, then follows with the mention of the king of Burgundy and his daughter Hildegund, II.8.4. In II.8.5 he relates the information that the two children are betrothed, and in II.8.6 tells the reader that they were given as hostages to Attila before they were old enough to wed; Hagan is reduced to a clause of accompaniment in the last sentence of Chapter 8 (II.8.6). Chapters 8 and 9 of the *Chronicle* are connected by the first sentence of II.9, which tells us that Attila returned to his own land with the children and the tribute paid. Then with II.9.2, the chronicler reports what “a certain poet”—the author of the *Waltharius*—says, and the transition from the *Chronicle*’s first “monastic” section (II.7-8), which has begun *in medias res*, to the “flashback” of the epic poem as it is “quoted” in the *Chronicle* (Ch.9) is complete.

Just as there is a transition from the first “monastic” section of the *Chronicle* (II.7 and 8) into its “quoted” section of the *Waltharius* epic (II.9), there is also a transition from the “epic” Walter story (II.9) back into the “monastic” section (II.10). As discussed previously, the chronicler’s narrative of the “epic” Walter ends with the last line of “paraphrased” section (II.9.186-200), when Gunther and Hagan see the flask of wine hanging from Walter’s saddle. In the next sentence, II.10.1 the reader’s attention is brought back to the monastery, ...*in eodem monasterio*... The language of this sentence, “...in the same monastery,” brings the reader all the way back to the beginning of Walter’s story in II.7.1, ...*in hoc monasterio*..., “in this monastery,” and the chronicler has thus neatly wrapped up the “epic” flashback, and has joined

the two “monastic” sections of his narrative, II.7 and II.10. These two sections are even more closely joined by the similarity of the language in both sentences. In addition to bringing the reader back to the physical space of the monastery, both include a time clause, setting the narrative into a chronological framework, and both include an outside authority,

dicitur...habuisse:

II.7.1 Dicitur autem in hoc monasterio prisco habuisse tempore monachum quendam olitorem

II.10.1 Interea in eodem monasterio...eisdem temporibus dicitur habuisse plastrum ligneum...

While the similar language of II.7 and II.10 tie the two “monastic” sections together, the transition from the epic story back to the monastic is evident gradually throughout the “paraphrased” section, and hinges on the wine flask at the end of II.9. With the “paraphrased” section, the chronicler begins to make his narrative way back to the monastery: the betrothed of the “epic” Walter has disappeared from the narrative of the “monastic” Walter; Gunther and Hagan cannot defeat the hero, and go on their way; the chronicler’s combatants are left intact with none of the horrific wounds of the *Waltharius*. Narratively speaking there is no advantage in the chronicler’s continuing epic of the hero to presenting such a severely wounded Walter. In the *Waltharius*, Walter goes on to marry Hildegund and to rule his people for thirty years, both events possible for a one-handed man. The *Chronicle*’s Walter, however, not only will have a job as a gardener at the monastery, a job that, one imagines, he could better perform if he had the use of two hands; he also will go into battle on the monastery’s behalf, which would be more difficult with only one hand.

In the last sentence of the chronicler’s epic narrative, II.9.200, Hagan and Gunther see a flask of wine hanging on the saddle of Walter. Before returning to the monastery, it is

worthwhile to have another look at that flask of wine. There have been suggestions about possible sources for the various stories in the *Chronicle*, but the flask of wine ending the *Waltharius* section is “unattested.”⁶⁵² I offer two possible suggestions for the *Chronicle*’s flask of wine. I mentioned in the “paraphrased” sentences that this flask is all that remains of the wine-drinking in which the men of the *Waltharius* engage after their final battle. The chronicler’s narrative includes the wine, but omits the friendship and taunting of the *Waltharius*.⁶⁵³ In the *Waltharius*, the final event is that the men drink wine, and they each go on their way to their respective homes, Walter included. In the *Chronicle*, Hagan and Gunther go on their way and merely see the wine as they look back. The chronicler’s changes to the events surrounding the wine at the end of II.9 seem to offer two results. The changes present a transition from the “epic” Walter drinking with his enemies and his betrothed to a “monastic” Walter who is not engaged with secular relationships, either with his foes or with his betrothed; and secondly, they leave the wine as the last image of the chronicler’s version of the epic story. This is the final image not only for Gunther and Hagan, but also for the chronicler’s reader.

Walter’s wine is therefore fresh in the reader’s mind when the chronicler introduces the new element of the monastery’s wagon in II.10. Not only has Walter come to the monastery, (*interea in eodem monasterio*), but so has Walter’s wine, as this particular wagon is used for transporting the grain and wine that are gathered in the surrounding areas. The flask of wine, therefore, serves as a transition point in the *Chronicle* from the end of Walter’s life as an epic hero to the beginning of his life as a monastic hero. The wine also makes a further connection between the *Chronicle*’s “epic” and “monastic” narratives; as Gunther and Hagan leave, they are

⁶⁵² Alessio, p.101

⁶⁵³ There have been different suggestions regarding the textual and manuscript possibilities to explain this “ending” to the Walter story. Alessio suggests an incomplete text of the *Waltharius*, or a missing page of the *Chronicle*, but he alone also entertains the possibility of authorial choice, p.101, n.6 .

desperately thirsty, and they look at the wine. These “bandits” possibly desire to take the wine from Walter⁶⁵⁴, which anticipates the actual bandits in the “monastic” story who will wish to take the wine (and other goods) from the monastery.

In the *Chronicle*’s “quoted” *Waltharius* section, we saw the changes made by the chronicler through omissions, expansions, and alterations. Walter’s story outside of the “quoted” section has not been explored by scholars in the continued context of the *Waltharius*, but it seems that the chronicler has used the same methods to continue his epic of his monastic hero after the “flashback” of the *Waltharius* lines. One way to look at this section, in continuing the comparison of the two texts, is that the “paraphrased” and both “monastic” sections contain continuations of the themes seen within the “quoted” section, though the continued themes are now structural instead of textual. In both the “paraphrased” and “monastic” sections, the chronicler makes use of the events of the *Waltharius* in ways similar to the way in which he used the words of the “quoted” section. He now uses narrative structure instead of the exact vocabulary, but he still uses the poem as his model for his retelling of the Walter myth, which will result in his new epic hero.

In the *Waltharius*, after Hagan and Gunther leave and set their trap for Walter, Walter after some deliberation decides to stay another night in the cave (W.1151-1152). Walter reassures Hildegund with “pleasant talk,” (W.1174), and she again keeps watch, singing to keep herself awake (W.1180-1181). In the *Chronicle*, on the other hand, in keeping with the chronicler’s tendency to limit the idea of physical contact between the two lovers, the couple do not share another night together, but immediately pack up and leave (CN II.9.196). At this point, however, in contrast to the events in the *Waltharius*, Hildegund disappears from the chronicler’s

⁶⁵⁴ Dronke, p.49, posits “the implication that in their weariness they abandoned their attack on Walter for the sake of a sip of his wine”, but it seems more likely that the bandits and the wine are meant to be connected in the two episodes.

narrative, and Walter goes into battle and ambush alone. Although Walter began to go on his way from the cave “with Hildegund,” in II.9.196, *et ipse mox cum Ildegunda...cepit iter agere*, the final battle begins in II.9.198, after Walter (alone) “had set out” from the cave in II.9.197, *egressus esset ab antro*. Hildegund’s disappearance is significant, as this last battle will be part of the transition between the “epic” hero and the “monastic” one, and there is no room for Walter’s betrothed in the *Chronicle*’s narrative. This is the last mention of Hildegund in the *Chronicle* until II.12.5, near the end of Walter’s story, when the reader is informed that Hildegund had a son by Walter. In both the *Waltharius* and the *Chronicle*, Walter and Hildegund are presumed to marry, but in neither is the marriage actually described. In the *Waltharius*, Walter pledges “in public” that he will marry Hildegund (W.1448). In the *Chronicle*, Walter and Hildegund are reported to have a son, and both Walter and his grandson Rathald, son of Ratherius, are buried at Novalese.

Given the tendencies observed in the “quoted” section of the *Waltharius*, the diminution of Walter’s friendship with those who are his enemies – the Huns, the royal couple – seems to continue in the “paraphrased” section, as the friendly banter and drinking shared among the three combatants is omitted. There is no joking, taunting, and wine drinking between the Franks and the “epic” Walter, a Walter who will be brought back to his “monastic” status in a very few lines. There is no mention of Walter returning to his epic home of Aquitaine, as the chronicler is preparing to return him to his monastic home of Novalese.

In both the “paraphrased” and the “monastic” sections the chronicler continues the pattern from the “quoted” section of distancing Walter from the slaughter in which he is engaged. In paraphrased line, II.9.193-194, Walter “seized the victory,” and then they all “were killed;” similar to the instances discussed in the “quoted” section, a passive verb is used, with no agency stated (although certainly understood). With the omission of the direct object in II.9.191,

and the omission of the subject here, Walter again is distanced from the actual killing. In the second “monastic” section, II.11.37, Walter does violent battle against the robbers, but the killing is still in the passive, with no subject stated, “Many of the robbers were killed,” *Ex illis namque plurimis occisis*, with the rest managing to flee, *reliqui vero in fugam versi...* Again, the “many” who meet death at Walter’s hand are passively killed, and Walter does not kill everyone. The first bandit, whom Walter hits in the head with his stirrup only “falls *as if* dead.” (II.11.34) Even the bandit who is so specifically and gruesomely attacked by Walter (and who certainly may be assumed to have been killed, with his broken Adam’s apple forced down his throat) is the one who attacked Walter “most importunately,” and therefore may be assumed to have “earned” his demise (II.11.36). For a modern reader, the creature that seems to get the worst of Walter’s battle tactics is the poor calf with its leg ripped off. Even this episode, however, represents a diminution from Walter’s violence in the *Waltharius*, since in the *Waltharius* Walter ripped the shoulder of a man from its “hinge” (W.1051), but in the *Chronicle*, his shoulder-ripping is confined to a beast.

As befits the “monastic” Walter, his battle with the robbers also seems to emphasize his spiritual traits. Dronke finds a certain amount of farcical humor in the image of Walter fighting off bandits in his underwear.⁶⁵⁵ This certainly may be so, but seen in another light, Walter’s [lack of] clothing and armor increases Walter’s spiritual traits. This lack not only emphasizes his new-found humility, as he now fights without proper armor, weapons, or even clothing, but it also presents the possibility of a “monastic” Walter even more heroic than the “epic” one, a Walter who can emerge victorious against the odds even without the regular trappings of the hero. In the *Waltharius*, the description of the “epic” Walter lingers on the hero as he dons piece after piece of armor before he goes into battle to keep the “treasure” that king Gunther would

⁶⁵⁵ Dronke, p.49.

take from him. This description is in contrast with that of the “monastic” Walter as he loses more and more clothing before he finally is forced to fight to recover from the royal bandits, the king’s soldiers, the monastery’s stolen goods.

In CN II.9.193, there is another example of Walter’s lack of fear, a lack noted throughout the *Chronicle*. Walter fights bravely against the Franks as they attack:

II.9.193

Waltharius vero nichil formidans, sed magis ut supra viriliter instabat prelio.
But Walter, fearing nothing, stood even more bravely in battle than before.

II.9.194

Cepit autem et ex illis Waltharius victoriam, occisis cunctis preter regem et Haganonem.
Walter seized the victory from them, and they were all killed, except the king and Hagan.

This example not only continues the tendency from the “quoted” section not to describe Walter as fearful, but also is a specific reference to Walter’s last words of the “quoted” section, words that were changed entirely by the chronicler, *Quem si forte volente Deo intercepero solum; ex aliis namque formido nulla* (II.9.182). After considering the possibility of those lines that Walter fears none but God, the sentence II.9.194, with its similar vocabulary, offers the continued image of Walter as a spiritual hero who stands even “more bravely” in the face of another battle. Whether or not the reference is meant to allude to fear of God, the pattern continues in the *Chronicle* that references to Walter’s fear are omitted, and Walter makes statements specifically that he lacks fear.

In the *Waltharius*, in the battle against Gunther’s men, Walter rips the shoulder (*humerum*, W.1051) of an enemy from its joint. In the *Chronicle*, Walter tears away the “shoulder” (*humerum*) of a calf to use as a weapon against the enemies of the monastery, whom

he has been sent to fight. Alessio also makes the connection between the *Chronicle*'s text and the biblical "jawbone of an ass," which Samson uses to rout his enemies.⁶⁵⁶

W.1051

Hinc indignatus iram convertit in ipsum
Waltharius humerumque eius de cardine vellit
perque latus ducto suffudit viscera ferro.

CN II.11.35

Deinde aspiciens iuxta se vidit vitulum pascentem:
quem arripiens, abstraxit ab eo humerum, de quo percutiebat hostes,
persequens ac dibachans eos per campum.

Judges 15:15

inventamque maxillam id est mandibulam asini quae iacebat arripiens interfecit in ea
mille viros

The *Chronicle* indeed uses language similar to that of the biblical text, *arripiens*. Samson, however, has merely found the jawbone and has used it as a weapon. The fact that the *Chronicle*'s Walter rips the "shoulder" from the animal and uses it in a battle echoes the *Waltharius* text, as Walter rips the shoulder of his enemy from its hinge. Although *humerus* could be used of the "shoulder" of an animal,⁶⁵⁷ the more common term for the body part of an animal seems to be *armus*.⁶⁵⁸ It appears, therefore, that while the *Chronicle*'s Walter imitates the actions of the biblical hero, the chronicler also has in mind the epic hero's battle against the Frankish enemies.⁶⁵⁹ These textual connections of the *Chronicle* seem more deliberate when seen in the context of Walter's battle; as Dronke points out, Walter has already taken weapons

⁶⁵⁶ Alessio, p.109, n.1.

⁶⁵⁷ Lewis and Short.

⁶⁵⁸ *armus*: Lewis and Short, "the whole side of an animal;" Le Talleur, "shoulder of beasts;" Du Cange, "but *humerus* is used of people; *armus* of beasts." Stelten gives only "shoulder, upper arm" for *humerus*, and "shoulder" for *armus*, with no specific allowance for animals.

⁶⁵⁹ Dronke, p.48 compares this scene in the *Chronicle* to *Thithrek's Saga*, in which the hero, Valtari, fights off his enemies with the (found) thigh-bone of a wild boar.

from the bandits, and has begun using them, so there is no narrative reason for Walter to have need of another weapon.⁶⁶⁰ With the shoulder-ripping, therefore, the chronicler takes the reader back to the combats of the *Waltharius*, as the *Chronicle*'s Walter rips the shoulder not of an enemy but of a beast.

In the *Waltharius*, before Walter goes into his final battle against the Franks, the reader has one final look at Walter's horse "Leo," whom he named on account of his bravery (W.327; CN II.9.81). Before the battle begins in the *Waltharius*, Hildegund leads Leo away to safety, and the horse is not mentioned again in the epic. In the *Chronicle*'s narrative of the "epic" Walter, there is a brief allusion to Leo, as the very last line of the "paraphrased" section refers to a sack of wine hanging from Walter's saddle. Since it is specifically Walter's saddle, *sagma Waltharii*, it presumably adorns his horse, although the name of the horse is not stated specifically. Leo will go on to have a continuation of his epic career in the *Chronicle*, however, and one that will parallel that of his master. When the monk Walter is charged by his abbot to confront the robbers who have stolen the monastery's goods, Walter goes to find a horse to ride into battle II.11.15).⁶⁶¹ After testing several horses and finding them lacking, he inquires about his former war-horse, and indeed the horse is still able to meet the challenge (II.11.18-24). Certainly the reader is intended to remember the epic warrior's story, as the chronicler adds Walter's statement, "which in my earlier years I made sure to teach him."

CN II.11.24

"Iste," inquit, "adhuc bene de meo tenens nutrimentum, quod in annis iuuenilibus meis illum studui docere."

he said, "This horse has retained well my training, which in my earlier years I made sure to teach him."

⁶⁶⁰ Dronke, p.49.

⁶⁶¹ Alessio, p.xxxi-xxxii, concerning the testing of the horse.

Walter and “Leo” both now have receded from their epic past, with humble jobs in the monastery. Walter’s monastic employment as a gardener is paralleled by “Leo’s” use in carrying grain to the mill.⁶⁶² With the parallel employment of the two former “heroes,” and Walter’s specific reference to their younger, heroic days the chronicler seems to make here an intentional reference to the *Waltharius*.

In a prelude to the first single combat of the *Waltharius*, Gamalo, the warrior sent against Walter by king Gunther, demands that Walter give up the treasure that he is carrying (W.601-603). Walter is conciliatory, and offers one hundred golden arm rings to Gunther. After reporting this response to Gunther, Gamalo returns with a second demand for the treasure (W.646-648); Walter is again conciliatory, and now offers two hundred arm rings. Finally, after Gamalo’s third demand for treasure (W.665-667), Walter fights, with the ultimate result that he wins and keeps everything. In the *Chronicle*, bandits have stolen the monastery’s goods as well as the monks’ clothing. Walter is sent against them, and again there are three demands. In the *Chronicle*, Walter has already discussed with his abbot what he should do when the robbers make their demands for his tunic, his cloak, and finally his breeches (CN II.11.6-14). Walter receives specific instructions from the abbot to give the bandits what they ask for, but that his humility will be displayed well enough without having to give up his breeches (II.11.14). The demands, in actuality, do not go quite as Walter had envisioned at the monastery, however, and the first demand is for his “clothing,” *vestimenta*, presumably both tunic and cloak (II.11.28). As in the *Waltharius*, Walter is conciliatory in response to the first demand; he yields, and offers them his clothing. Now the robbers begin to take his foot-coverings (II.11.30), and Walter is again compliant, or at least does not fight at this point, suggesting that, parallel to the second

⁶⁶² Smith, *War and Monastic Culture*, p.161, for this reference.

demand in the *Waltharius*, Walter is not only conciliatory again, but offers to yield to the bandits. In each narrative, however, there is a third demand that escalates the conflict, resulting in Walter's refusal and a battle. In the *Waltharius*, Gamalo (on Gunther's instructions) demands again that Walter give him the *scrinia* containing all of the treasure; in the *Chronicle*, the bandits, not content with Walter's foot-coverings, go for his breeches (II.11.31), an act which constitutes the third "demand." In the face of these demands, the chronicler's Walter refuses for a long time, and attempts to invoke the monastic authority of his abbot's commands. In both narratives, Walter has right on his side, a secular "right" in the *Waltharius*, as he has taken from a pagan king what he and Hildegund need to escape, and a spiritual "right" in the *Chronicle*, as Walter has received permission from his abbot not to relinquish his breeches. Walter's Christian traits are elevated beyond his epic characteristics in this scene in the *Chronicle*, both when he tries to reason with the bandits, and when he tells them he is acting under a higher authority. Walter began his interaction with the bandits by greeting them humbly and telling them to quit acting against the Lord's servants (II.11.26), and he ends the dialogue portion of the interaction by telling the bandits that he will not yield what he has not been told to yield by his brethren (II.11.31). These spiritual aspects of the conversation surround the secular aspect of the talk between Walter and the group of robbers, when the robbers scoff at the *precepta monachorum*, and the men exchange "harsh words:"

CN.II.11.26-27

26 Quos humiliter salutasset, coepit illos monere, ne iam servis Dei ulterius talem inferrent iniuriam, qualem tunc fecissent.

27 Illi autem cum dura Walthario coepissent respondere verba, Waltharius e contra sepiissime illis duriora referebat.

After he greeted them humbly, he warned them not to bring any further injury to the servants of God, as they had done before.

When they began to respond to Walter with harsh words, however, Walter answered them right back with harsher ones.

This exchange also constitutes a reference to the *flyting* of the *Waltharius*. This ritual poetic exchange of insults⁶⁶³ in which Walter, Hagan, and Gunther engage after their battle in the *Waltharius*, is omitted from the *Chronicle*, but is echoed here in the “harsh” and “harsher” words traded between Walter and his enemies. This sentence is all that remains of the insults traded among Walter and the Franks, and even this reference to Walter’s secular verbal prowess is surrounded by, and subsumed in, his spiritual dialogue.

In the *Waltharius* (and retained almost *verbatim* in the *Chronicle*) the “epic” Walter speaks prideful words, and immediately falls to the ground and begs forgiveness:

W.561

“Hac coram porta verbum modo iacto sperbum.

CN.II.9.175

“Coram hac porta verbum modo iacto superbum:...”

W.564-565

Necdum sermonem complevit, humotenus ecce

corruit et veniam petiit quia talia dixit.

CN.II.9.178

Nec dum sermonem compleverat, et ecce humo tenus

corruit, et veniam petit, quod talia dixit.

Walter in both narratives is fully aware that he is speaking haughtily, and exacts his own “self-punishment,” seeking pardon for his words. Before the chronicler’s “monastic” Walter goes into battle against the robbers, he expresses to his abbot his concern that he will not be able to remain humble during the encounter. There seems to be no particular example of Walter’s pride during his battle, other than the *duriora verba* of II.11.27, but Walter has to do the penance assigned by the abbot upon his return from his victory (II.11.40), presumably appropriate, given the violence he has inflicted upon his enemies. The sin of violence seems still to be subordinate to the sin of pride, however, as Walter accepts the penance to save his soul:

⁶⁶³ For *flyting* in the Walter saga, see Wards Parks, *Verbal Dueling in Heroic Narrative*, pp.68-69.

CN II.11.40

...ne de tanto scelere superbiretur in corpore, unde iacturam pateretur in anima
“...lest by such a wicked deed he be overcome with pride in his body, whence he could
suffer the loss of his soul.”

With this penance, the chronicler may also be looking ahead to Walter’s pride as he returns victorious from an encounter against the keepers of the king’s horses, and in his exultation strikes a column with a blow so strong that it breaks the stone (CN II.11.42).

Parallel to the narrative of the *Waltharius*, Walter fights against Gunther and his men in the “paraphrased” section of the *Chronicle*, but the single combats of the epic poem are omitted, and all the chronicler’s verbs and participles referring to Walter’s enemies in this particular battle are plural. The only suggestion of separate combats in the *Chronicle* seems to be that Gunther’s warriors come in two “waves.” In the sentences II.9.190-191, Gunther sends men against Walter, and they are killed. Then in the following line, II.9.192, Gunther joins “the rest,” *reliqui*, and the remainder of the Frankish forces are now arrayed against Walter:

II.9.192

Rex autem ut vidit, et ipse protinus feroci animo cum reliquis super eum venit.
The king, when he saw this, with wild passion joined his men himself in attacking
Walter.

The “epic” Walter of the *Chronicle* therefore fights no single combats, but he does engage in three separate battles, the two against Gunther’s men, and the final battle when Walter fights Gunther and Hagan. Even in these separate battles, however, Walter fights against groups of enemies, not single warriors; the *Chronicle*’s Walter always fights – and wins – against the odds. This difference continues in Walter’s later “monastic” battle against the robbers. When Walter is sent into battle against these robbers, there are certainly several of them, many are killed, and the rest flee. This battle also carries at least the hint of single combat, as Walter hits one of the robbers on the head and then has time to take his weapons.

In both of the Walter narratives, there is emphasis placed on the concepts of the traditional epic themes of travel and home-coming. The Walter of the *Waltharius* spends many years away from his home in exile; he then flees his exile, and has to suffer danger and hardships until he can return home. There he marries Hildegund, and goes on to rule for thirty years. The *Chronicle*'s Walter follows the Walter of the *Waltharius* in his journey from his secular home into exile, escape, and the dangers of the return. The chronicler alludes to the *Waltharius* narrative and Walter's secular life, and resumes the story after Walter has had his earthly successes. Walter's travels continue as he goes on his monastic pilgrimage, seeking now to escape not from the Huns, but from his sins in the secular world. In his travels through the world he finds the path that brings him to Novalesse, and at his spiritual home of Novalesse, the aged warrior continues along the path that will finally lead him to his heavenly home.

The chronicler's concluding chapter (II.12) to Walter's story begins with the death of the hero, *Obiit interea vir magnanimus*. The end of Walter's story hearkens back to the beginning, as the reader was introduced to Walter as a monk and given Walter's epitaph in the *Waltharius fortis* lines. The chronicler continues the blend of secular and sacred of those lines in his final chapter concerning Walter, alluding to the dual aspects of Walter's life: Walter is described as a "man," a "count," and an "athlete," all references to his secular career; but he dies "full of days," like a saint or an abbot. Just as in II.7, in which the language of *Waltharius fortis* could be viewed with both secular and sacred meanings, so some of the language here hints at both connotations. Walter is "most fervid in his love of obedience and the discipline of the Rule," *amoris obedientiae et regularis discipline oppido fervidissimus*. These qualities obviously refer to his time in the monastery, but they are also qualities that surely served him well in his career as a soldier. His son by his (obviously) secular union with Hildegund is mentioned, but in the context of the miracles worked by Walter's grandson. With the miracle performed by the relic of

this grandson, a relic (stolen) from Novalese, Walter's spiritual status is elevated for a final time, and this "victor flying to the stars" has indeed "ascended beyond the eagles of Caesar."

The chronicler's beginning of his "monastic" Walter story in II.7 seems to be a *non sequitur*, a "set" piece appearing in the middle of Book II. The story follows immediately after the mention of abbots and their tombs at the end of II.6; the chronicler states that he himself has often seen the epitaphs of these men, and the next sentence, II.7.1, begins the chronicler's Walter narrative, the story of "a certain monk." His story of Walter will end in II.13 with the description of another tomb, that of Walter; the chronicler states that he himself has been in the presence of Walter's remains. The Walter narrative in the *Chronicle* has been bookended by the two mentions of the tombs, and by the chronicler's first-hand knowledge of both. After the discussion of Walter's tomb, II.14 continues, again with a seemingly unrelated topic, but then ends with the epitaphs of monks killed by pagans, epitaphs which the chronicler seems to have read, again citing first-hand knowledge. Even in such a brief context, Walter's story and the remaining chapters of Book II seem to be integrated to some extent, and the chronicler seems to keep his epic story in mind not only within his own narrative of Walter, but even expanded into the structure of Book II. There seems a similar integration with the final mention of Hildegund, in II.12. The chronicler, as discussed, alludes to the marriage of Walter and Hildegund, as does the *Waltharius*. The focus in the *Waltharius* is on Walter and his promise, but in the *Chronicle* it is on Hildegund as "she bears a son to him." Given that Hildegund had been removed from the narrative during the "paraphrased" section, and her importance downplayed, it may seem odd that the focus is back on Hildegund at the end of the story. The chronicler at this point is discussing Walter's tomb, and that of his grandson. The tombs are described, and a miracle is performed via the relics of Walter's grandson – why mention Hildegund at all? This mention, toward the end of II.12, is followed in II.13 by the story in which an old woman, Petronilla,

shows villagers the tombs of Walter and his grandson. The chronicler also gives Petronilla a son, a former hostage, who has made it home after thirty years with his captors. The chronicler at this point is discussing Walter's tomb, and the fact that Petronilla knows its location. The story of the wise old woman of the village is interesting, and Petronilla is given engaging personal characteristics – why mention her son at all? The mother, former hostage Hildegund, and her son certainly are meant to introduce the former hostage son, and his mother, Petronilla.

Just as the chronicler uses the *Waltharius* to create a new epic about the monastery's monastic hero, he uses his re-fashioned Walter epic to create a new story of the monastery. Although previous scholars have examined possible influences on the *Chronicle's* Walter story, there has been no full analysis of the more obvious influence on the *Chronicle* – the *Waltharius* itself. The story of Walter is meant to enhance the importance of Novalese, but the epic hero has been altered substantially, and a more Christian hero now inhabits a more Christian epic which serves to elevate both the hero and the monastery. Although the chapters of Book II outside of II.7 through II.12 (-13) are no longer a continuation of the *Waltharius*, they seem nevertheless a continuation of the epic idea. The chapters of Book II form a roughly tri-partite pattern leading into, and out of, the *Waltharius* narrative: Chapters II.1-6 concern the history of the current monastery's practices; II.7-13 contain the story of Walter; and in II.14-20 the monastery is again center-stage. We have seen the chronicler employ the device, *in medias res*, of monk-to-warrior-to-monk, in a small way at the beginning of II.7, and in a larger way with his epic of the “monastic” Walter. He can possibly be said to employ this same device in Book II, but now the pattern is monastery-to-epic-to-monastery, and if the chronicler has continued to use this device, he uses it thematically, not chronologically. The history of the monastery, as told in Book II, is now connected to the epic hero at its center, and the chronicler has therefore successfully

effected a three-part change to an epic poem: the re-fashioned hero, the re-fashioned epic, and the re-fashioned relevance to the monastery of its glorious past.

APPENDIX: COMPARISON OF *CHRONICLE* II.9.3-185 TO *WALTHARIUS* 93-578

- W = *Waltharius* text (Strecker ed. MGH), lines 93-577
 - I have included relevant Strecker text variants directly under the W line.
- CN = *Chronicle of Novalesse* (Bethmann ed. MGH) II.9.3-185
 - The word order is exact. The line divisions are mine, in order to illustrate the comparison with the *Waltharius* lines; the *Chronicle* itself presents continuous text with no line divisions.
 - I have ignored Bethmann's distinction between "poetry" and "prose."
 - I have included relevant CN text variants directly under the CN line.
 - *T* = original scribes of the section of the *Chronicle* in question
 - *T*¹ = original scribes correcting themselves
 - *T*² = corrector other than the original scribe of the section
 - *T*³ = corrector other than the original scribe correcting himself
 - *T*² = an erasure whose agency is not determined
 - *J* = Jerome (*ad Eustochium*)
- *** = CN line is "exact" as in W
 - very minor changes
 - CN line is substantially the same as W
- * = CN line "almost exact" as in W
 - change in word order
 - prefix change
 - omission or addition of insignificant words
- Underline = words found (exactly or similarly) in the W line
 - continuous underline = words are in the W line word order
- **Bold** = expanded CN line; words not found in the W line
- () words in W line omitted in CN line

I have adopted three designations of *Chronicle* lines: "exact"; "almost exact"; and "substantial change." All three of these designations are obviously subjective and open to other interpretations. Even the "exact" designation, marked with a triple asterisk, is somewhat flexible; for instance, I have labeled some lines "exact" that change a verb tense or noun declension, but are the same in every other particular. Generally, I have styled as "almost exact" those lines in the *Chronicle* which contain the exact vocabulary, changing only word order, and

lines which contain exact vocabulary with a change or omission of inconsequential words, such as *vel* or *atque*. These lines are indicated by a single asterisk. All other lines I consider “substantially changed,” which may involve a combination of omissions, expansions, vocabulary differences, word order, etc.

(W.80-82

Nam iusiurandum Heriricus et Alphere reges
Inter se dederant, pueros quod consociarent,
Cum primum tempus nubendi venerit illis.

CN

Hii vero reges iuramentum
inter se dederant ut quando ipsi pueri
ad legitimam etatem primitus venissent,
se invicem sociarent,
scilicet cum tempus nubendi illis venisset.)

W.93

Tunc Avars gazis onerati denique multis

CN***

Tunc Avars gazis onerati denique multis,

W.94

Obsidibus sumptis Haganone, Hiltgunde puella

CN***

Obsidibus sumptis Haganone, Hilgunde puella

W.95

Nec non Walthario redierunt pectore laeto.

CN***

Necnon Walthario redierunt pectore laeto.

W.96

Attila Pannonias ingressus et urbe receptus

CN***

Attila Pannonias ingressus et urbe receptus,

W.97

Exulibus pueris magnam exhibuit pietatem

CN***

Exulibus pueris magnam exhibuit pietatem,

W.98

Ac veluti proprios nutrire iubebat alumnos

CN***

Hac veluti proprios nutrire iubebat alumpnos

W.99

Virginis et curam reginam mandat habere.

CN***

Virginis et curam reginam mandat habere.

W.100

Ast adolescentes propriis conspectibus ambos

CN***

Ast adolescentes propriis conspectibus ambos

W.101

Semper adesse iubet, sed et artibus imbuit illos

CN***

Semper inesse iubet sed et artibus imbuit illos,

W.102

Praesertimque iocis belli sub tempore habendis.

CN***

Presertimque iocis belli sub tempore habentis.

W.103

Qui simul ingenio crescentes mentis et aevo

CN***

Qui simul ingenio crescentes mentis et aevo,

W.104

Robore vincebant fortes animoque sophistas

CN***

Robore vincebant fortes animoque sophistas,

W.105

Donec iam cunctos superarent fortiter Hunos.

CN***

Donec iam cunctos superarent fortiter Hunos.

W.106

Militiae primos tunc Attila fecerat illos,

CN***

Militiae primos tunc Attila fecerat illos;

W.107

Sed haud immerito, quoniam si quando moveret

non, V

CN*

sed **non** inmerito; quoniam si quando moveret

W.108

Bella, per insignes isti micuere triumphos;

CN

bella per insignes **regionum illarum**, isti ex pugna victoria micabant (),

W.109

Idcircoque nimis princeps dilexerat ambos.

illos, K

CN

ideoque () princeps **ille quidni** dilexerat **illos**?

W.110

Virgo etiam captiua deo praestante supremo

CN

Virgo etiam, **quae cum ipsis ducta fuerat** captiva, Deo sibi prestante ()

W.111

Reginae vultum placavit et auxit amorem,

CN

reginae placavit vultum, et **ipsa** auxit illi amorem.

Strecker incorrectly reports *multum*, N

W.112

Moribus eximiis operumque industria habundans.

CN

Ex nobilis ergo moribus et operum habundans **sapientiae**,

W.113-14

Postremum custos thesauris provida cunctis

Efficitur, modicumque deest, quin regnet et ipsa;

CN

ad ultimum vero fit ipsa regis et reginae thesauris custoda cunctis

Et modicum deest quin regnet et ipsa;

custoda T custos T²

W.115

Nam quicquid voluit de rebus, fecit et actis.

CN***

Nam quicquid voluit de rebus fecit et actis.

W.116

Interea Gibicho defungitur, ipseque regno

CN

Gybichus interea **rex Francorum** defungitur, () et regno
et regno *T* regno *T*²

W.117-118

Guntharius successit et ilico Pannoniarum

Foedera dissolvit censumque subire negavit.

CN

illo Cundharius eius successit filius, statimque
foedera Pannoniarum dissolvit, atque censum illi deinceps negavit.

W.119

Hoc ubi iam primum Haganus cognouerat exul,

CN

At vero () Haganus exul, **agnita**

W.120

Nocte fugam molitur et ad dominum properavit.

CN

() **proprii domini morte**, ilico fugam parat ().

W.121-128

Waltharius tamen ad pugnas praecesserat Hunos,

Et quocumque iret, mox prospera sunt comitata.

Ospirin elapsum Haganonem regia coniunx

Attendens domino suggestit talia dicta:

“Provideat caveatque, precor, sollertia regis,

Ne vestri imperii labatur forte columna,

Hoc est, Waltharius vester discedat amicus,

In quo magna potestatis vis extitit huius;

CN

Ex cuius discessum rex cum regina multum dolentes, Waltharium retinere nitentes,

W.129

Nam vereor, ne fors fugiens Haganonem imitetur,

CN

() ne forte simili exitu illum **ammittentes**,

W.130-135

Idcircoque meam perpendite nunc rationem:

Cum primum veniat, haec illi dicite verba:

‘Servitio in nostro magnos plerumque labores

Passus eras ideoque scias, quod gratia nostra

Prae cunctis temet nimium dilexit amicis.

Quod volo plus factis te quam cognoscere dictis:

CN

rogare illum coeperunt,

W.136

Elige de satrapis nuptam tibi Pannoniarum

CN

ut filiam alicuius regis satrapis Pannoniarum summeret sibi uxorem,

W.137

Et non pauperiem propriam perpendere cures.

CN

Omitted

W.138

Amplificabo quidem valde te rure domique

CN

et ipse ampliaret () illi rure domosque.

W.139-144

Nec quisquam, qui dat sponsam, post facta pudebit.’

Quod si completis, illum stabilire potestis.”

Complacuit sermo regi coepitque parari.

Waltharius venit, cui princeps talia pandit,

Uxorem suadens sibi ducere; sed tamen ipse

Iam tum praemeditans, quod post compleverat actis,

CN

Omitted

W.145

His instiganti suggestibus obvius inquit

CN

Quibus Waltharius talia respondit verba:

W.146-149

“Vestra quidem pietas est, quod modici famulatus

Causam conspicitis. Sed quod mea segnia mentis

Intuitu fertis, numquam meruisse valerem.

Sed precor ut servi capiat verba fidelis:

CN

Omitted

W.150

Si nuptam accipiam domini praecepta secundum

CN

“si nuptam,” **inquit**, “accipiam secundum domini preceptum,

W.151

Vinciar in primis curis et amore puellae

CN*

In primis vinciar curis et amore puelle,

W.152

Atque a servitio regis plerumque retardor:

CN

Omitted

W.153

Aedificare domos cultumque intendere ruris

CN***

Aedificare domos cultumque intendere ruris.

W.154-57

Cogor, et hoc oculis senioris adesse moratur

Et solitam regno Hunorum impendere curam.

Namque voluptatem quisquis gustaverit, exin

Intolerabilius consuevit ferre labores.

CN

Omitted

W.158

Nil tam dulce mihi, quam semper inesse fideli

CN

Nil ergo mi senior (W.154 senioris), tam dulce mihi, quam semper tibi inesse fidelis;

W.159-164

Obsequio domini; quare precor absque iugali

Me vinclo permitte meam iam ducere vitam.

Si sero aut medio noctis mihi tempore mandas,

Ad quaecumque iubes, securus et ibo paratus.

In bellis nullae persuadent cedere curae

Nec nati aut coniunx retrahentque fugamque movebunt.

CN

Omitted

W.165

Testor per propriam temet, pater optime, vitam

CN

teque optime deprecor pater per propriam vitam

W.166

Atque per invictam nunc gentem Pannoniarum,

CN*

atque per invictam () gentem Pannoniarum,

W.167

Ut non ulterius me cogas sumere taedas.”

CN***

Ut non ulterius me cogas sumere taedas.”

W.168-169

His precibus victus, suasus rex deserit omnes

Sperans Waltharium fugiendo recedere numquam.

CN

Cumque haec dixisset, sermones statim deserit omnes. Sicque rex **deceptus,**
sperans Waltharium () recedere numquam.

W.170

Venerat interea satrapae certissima fama

CN

Moxque satrapae illi certissima venerat fama

W.171-172

Quandam, quae nuper superata, resistere gentem

Ac bellum Hunis confestim inferre paratam.

CN

de quandam gentem quondam ab Hunis devictam
super se iterum hostiliter ruentem.

W.173

Tunc ad Waltharium convertitur actio rerum.

CN***

Tunc ad Waltharium convertitur actio rerum;

W.174

Qui mox militiam percensuit ordine totam

CN***

Qui mox militiam percensuit ordine totam.

W.175

Et bellatorum confortat corda suorum,

CN***

Et bellatorum confortat corda suorum.

W.176-78

Hortans praeteritos semper memorare triumphos

Promittensque istos solita virtute tyrannos

Sternere et externis terrorem imponere terris.

CN

Omitted

W.179

Nec mora, consurgit sequiturque exercitus omnis.

CN***

Nec mora, consurgit, sequiturque exercitus omnis.

W.180-81

Ecce locum pugnae conspexerat et numeratam
per latos aciem campos digessit et agros.

CN

Et ecce locum conspexerat pugnae Et numeratam
per latos aciem campos ();

W.182

Iamque infra iactum teli congressus uterque

CN*

Iamque congressus uterque infra teli iactum

W.183

Constiterat cuneus: tunc undique clamor ad auras

CN***

Constiterat cuneus. Tunc utique clamor ad auras

W.184

Tollitur, horrendam confundunt classica vocem,

CN***

Tollitur; horrenda confundit classica voce,
confunditur T confundit T^2

W.185

Continuoque hastae volitant hinc indeque densae.

CN***

Continuoque hastae volitant hinc indeque densae.

W.186

Fraxinus et cornus ludum miscebat in unum

CN***

Fraxinus et cornus ludum miscebat in unum,

W.187

Fulminis inque modum cuspis vibrata micabat.

CN***

Fulminis inque modum cuspis vibrata micabat.

W.188-91

Ac veluti boreae sub tempore nix glomerata

Spargitur, haud aliter saevas iecere sagittas.

Postremum cunctis utroque ex agmine pilis
Absumptis manus ad mucronem vertitur omnis:
CN
Omitted

W.192
Fulmineos promunt enses clipeosque revolvunt,
CN***
Fulmineos promunt henses clipeosque revolvunt.

W.193
Concurrunt acies demum pugnamque restaurant.
CN
Inde concurrit acies, et postmodum pugnam restaurant,

W.194
Pectoribus partim rumpuntur pectora equorum
CN
Ibique pectora equorum partim rumpuntur pectoribus,

W.195
Sternitur et quaedam pars duro umbone virorum.
CN*
Sternuntur et quasdam partes virorum duro umbone.

W.196
Waltharius tamen in medio furit agmine bello,
CN***
Waltharius tamen in medio furit agmine bello,

W.197
Obvia quaeque metens armis ac limite pergens.
CN***
Obvia quaeque metens armis, hac limite pergens.

W.198
Hunc ubi conspiciunt hostes tantas dare strages,
CN***
Hunc ubi conspiciunt hostes tantas dare strages,

W.199
Ac si praesentem metuebant cernere mortem,
CN***
Acsi presentem metuebant cernere mortem;

W.200
Et quemcumque locum seu dextram sive sinistram

CN***

Et quemcumque locum seu dextram sive sinistram

W.201

Waltharius peteret, cuncti mox terga dederunt

CN***

Waltharius peteret, cuncti mox terga dederunt.

W.202-208

Et versis scutis laxisque feruntur habenis.

Tunc imitata ducem gens maxima Pannoniarum

Saevior insurgit caedemque audacior auget,

Deicit obstantes, fugientes proterit usque,

Dum caperet plenum belli sub sorte triumphum.

Tum super occisos ruit et spoliaverat omnes.

Et tandem ductor recavo vocat agmina cornu

CN

Omitted

W.209-211

Ac primus frontem festa cum fronde revinxit,

Victrici lauro cingens sua tempora vulgo,

Post hunc signiferi, sequitur quos cetera pubes.

CN

Omitted

Cumque ex victoria coronati lauro **Waltharius** cum Hunis reverteretur,

W.212-14

Iamque triumphali redierunt stemmata compti

Et patriam ingressi propria se quisque locavit

Sede, sed ad solium mox Waltharius properavit.

CN

Omitted

W.215-16

Ecce palatini decurrunt arce ministri

Illius aspectu hilares equitemque tenebant,

CN

mox palatini ministri arcis

Ipsius laeti occurrerunt equitemque tenebant,

W.217

Donec vir sella descenderet inclitus alta.

CN*

Donec vir inclitus ex alta descenderent sella.

W.218

Si bene res vergant tum demum forte requirunt.

CN

Quique demum forte requirunt si bene res vergant.

W.219

Ille aliquid modicum narrans intraverat aulam,
qui tantum modicum *E*

CN

Qui () modicum illis narrans intraverat aulam.

W.220

(Lassus enim fuerat), regisque cubile petebat.

CN

Erat enim oppido lassus, regisque cubile petebat.

lapsus T lassus T'

W.221

Illic Hiltgundem solam offendit residentem.

CN

Illicque in ingressu Hilgundem solam offendit residentem;

W.222

Cui post amplexus atque oscula dulcia dixit:

CN

Cui post amabilem amplexionem atque dulcia oscula dixit:

W.223

“Ocius huc potum ferto, quia fessus anhelō.”

CN***

“Ocius huc potum ferto, quia fessus anhelō”

W.224

Illa mero tallum conplevit mox pretiosum

CN***

Illa mero tallum conplevit mox pretiosum,

W.225

Porrexitque viro, qui signans accipiebat

CN

Atque Walthario ad bibendum obtulit; Qui signans accepit,

W.226

Virgineamque manum propria constrinxit. at illa

CN***

Virgineamque manum propria constrinxit; at illa

W.227

Astitit et vultum reticens intendit herilem,

CN

() Reticens vultum intendit **in eum**.

W.228

Walthariusque bibens vacuum vas porrigit olli

porrigit *PT&V* reddidit *B*

CN

Cumque Waltharius bibisset, vacuum vas **reddidit** illi –

W.229

– Ambo etenim norant de se sponsalia facta –

CN***

Ambo enim noverant de se sponsalia facta –

Strecker incorrectly reports, etenim *N*

W.230

Provocat et tali caram sermone puellam:

CN***

Provocat et tali caram sermone puellam:

W.231

“Exilium pariter patimur iam tempore tanto,

CN***

“Exilium pariter patimur iam tempore tanto.

W.232

Non ignorantes, quid nostri forte parentes

quod *B*

CN

Non ignoramus **enim**, quod nostri **quondam** parentes

W.233

Inter se nostra de re fecere futura.

CN***

Inter se nostra de re fecere futura.”

W.234

Quamne diu tacito premimus haec ipsa palato?”

CN

Quae cum diu talia et alia huius modi audisset

W.235

Virgo per hyroniam meditans hoc dicere sponsum

CN

virgo verba, cogitabat hoc illi per hyroniam dicere (),

W.236

Paulum conticuit, sed postea talia reddit:

CN

sed paululum cum conticuisset, taliam illi fatur:

W.237

“Quid lingua simulat, quod ab imo pectore damnas,

CN***

“Quid lingua simulat quod ab imo pectore dampnas?

W.238

Oreque persuades, toto quod corde refutas,

CN

Ore mihi fingis, toto quod corde refutas,

W.239

Sit veluti talem pudor ingens ducere nuptam?”

CN

Tamquam si sit () tibi magnus pudor ducere nuptam.”

W.240

Vir sapiens contra respondit et intulit ista:

CN***

Vir sapiens contra respondit et intulit ista:

W.241

“Absit quod memoras! dextrorsum porrige sensum!

CN***

“Absit, quod memoras. Dextrorsum porrige sensum.

W.242

Noris me nihilum simulata mente locutum

CN

Scis enim, nil umquam me simulata mente locutum.

W.243

Nec quicquam nebulae vel falsi interfore crede.

CN

Omitted

W.244

Nullus adest nobis exceptis namque duobus:

CN

Adest itaque **hic** nullus, exceptis nobis duobus.

W.245-260

Si nossem temet mihi promptam inpendere mentem
Atque fidem votis servare per omnia cautis,
Pandere cuncta tibi cordis mysteria vellem.”
Tandem virgo viri genibus curvata profatur:
“Ad quaecumque vocas, mi domne, sequar studiose
250 Nec quicquam placitis malim praeponere iussis.”
Ille dehinc: “piget exilii me denique nostri
Et patriae fines reminiscor saepe relictos
Idcircoque fugam cupio celerare latentem.
Quod iam prae multis potuissem forte diebus,
255 Si non Hiltgundem solam remanere dolerem.”
Addidit has imo virguncula corde loquelas:
“Vestrum velle meum, solis his aestuo rebus.
Praecipiat dominus, seu prospera sive sinistra
Eius amore pati toto sum pectore praesto.”
260 Waltharius tandem sic virginis inquit in aurem:

CN

Omitted

W.261-62

“Publica custodem rebus te nempe potestas
Fecerat, idcirco memor haec mea verba notato:

CN

Amodo namque esto mente sollicita, quae
extrinsecus es regis reginaeque thesauris custoda.

W.263

Inprimis galeam regis tunicamque, trilicem

CN***

In primis galeam regis tunicamque trilicem

W.264

Assero loricam fabrorum insigne ferentem,

CN***

Assero loricam fabrorum insigne ferentem.

W.265

Diripe, bina dehinc mediocria scrinia tolle.

CN***

Diripe bina, dehinc mediocria scrinia tolle.

W.266

His armillarum tantum da Pannonicarum,
CN***

His armillarum tantum da Pannonicarum,

W.267

Donec vix unum releves ad pectoris imum.

CN

Donec vix releves unum ad pectoris **honum**,

W.268

Inde quater binum mihi fac de more coturnum,

CN***

Inde quater binum mihi fac de more coturnum.

W.269-70

Tantundemque tibi patrans imposito vasis:

Sic fors ad summum complentur scrinia labrum.

CN

Omitted

W.271

Insuper a fabris hamos clam posce retortos:

CN***

Insuper a fabris hamos clam posce retortos.

W.272

Nostra viatica sint pisces simul atque volucres,

CN***

Nostra viatica sint pisces simul atque volucres.

W.273

Ipsa ego piscator, sed et auceps esse coartor.

CN***

Ipsa ego piscator sed () auceps esse cohartor.

W.274

Haec intra ebdomadam caute per singula comple.

CN***

Hec intra ebdomede caute per singula comple.

ebdomo *T* ebdoma *T'*

W.275

Audisti, quid habere vianti forte necesse est.

CN***

Audisti quod habere vianti forte necesse est.

forti *T* forte *T'*

W.276

Nunc quo more fugam valeamus inire recludo:

CN

Omitted

W.277

Postquam septenos Phoebus remeaverit orbes,

CN***

Postquam septenos Phoebus remeaverit orbes
remeaveret *T* remeaverit *T*²

W.278-279

Regi ac reginae satrapis ducibus famulisque

Sumptu permagno convivium laeta parabo

CN

() Convivia laeta parabo

*** Regi ac reginae, satrapis, ducibus, famulisque,

W.280

Atque omni ingenio potu sepelire studebo,

CN***

Atque omni ingenio potu sepelire studebo,

W.281

Donec nullus erit qui sentiat hoc, quod agendum est.

CN

ita ut nullus supersit, qui sciat vel recognoscat, cur vel ob quam causam factum sit tale convivium.

W.282

Tu tamen interea mediocriter utere vino

CN

Te tamen premoneo mediocriter vinum utere,

W.283

Atque sitim vix ad mensam restinguere cura.

Cw

ut vix sitim extinguas ad mensam.

W.284

Cum reliqui surgant, ad opuscula nota recurre.

CN

Reliqui vero cum surrexerint, tu ilico ad nota recurre opuscula.

W.285

Ast ubi iam cunctos superat violentia potus,

CN

At ubi () potus violentia superaverit cunctos,

W.286

Tum simul occiduas properemus quaerere partes.”

CN***

Tunc simul occiduas properemus querere partes.”

W.287

Virgo memor praecepta viri complevit. et ecce

CN

Virgo vero dicta viri valde memor praecepta complevit, et ecce

W.288

Praefinita dies epularum venit, et ipse

CN***

Prefinita dies epularum venit, et ipse

W.289

Waltharius magnis instruxit sumptibus escas.

CN*

Waltharius qui magnis instruxit sumptibus escas.

W.290

Luxuria in media residebat denique mensa,

CN*

Luxuria denique in media residebat mensa.

W.291

Ingrediturque aulam velis rex undique septam.

CN*

Rex itaque ingreditur aulam, velis undique septam;

W.292

Heros magnanimus solito quem more salutans

CN*

heros itaque solito more salutans quem magnanimus

W.293

Duxerat ad solium, quod bissus compsit et ostrum.

quod *BIV* quem *PT&NE*

CN***

Duxerat ad solium, quem bissus compsit et ostrum.

W.294

Consedit laterique duces hinc indeque binos
CN***

Consedit, laterique duces hinc indeque binos

W.295

Assedissee iubet; reliquos locat ipse minister.
CN***

Assedere iubet; reliquos locat ipse minister

W.296

Centenos simul accubitus iniere sodales,
CN***

Centenos simul accubitus ()

W.297

Diversasque dapes libans conviva resudat.
CN*

et diversas dapes libans convivium **redundat**.

W.298

His et sublati aliae referuntur edendae,
CN*

His () sublati alie referuntur edende,

W.299-300

Atque exquisitum fervebat migma per aurum
– Aurea bissino tantum stant gausape vasa –
CN

Omitted

W.301

Et pigmentatus crateres Bachus adornat.
CN***

Et pigmentatos crateres Bachus adornat.

W.302

Illicit ad haustum species dulcedoque potus.
CN

Omitted

W.303

Waltharius cunctos ad vinum hortatur et escam.
CN***

Waltharius cunctos ad vinum ortatur et escam.

W.304

Postquam epulis depulsa fames sublataque mensa,
CN

Postquam () depulsa fames fuerat atque sublata mensa,

W.305

Heros iam dictus dominum laetanter adorsus
CN*

Waltharius iamdictus dominum letanter adhorsus

W.306

Inquit: "In hoc, rogito, clarescat gratia vestra,
CN

Dixit: "In hoc rogito gratia vestra ut clarescat

W.307

Ut vos inprimis, reliquos nunc laetificetis."
CN

In primis, atque vos reliquos () laetificetis."

W.308

Et simul in verbo nappam dedit arte peractam
CN*

Qui simul in verbo nappam dedit arte peractam,

W.309

Ordine sculpturae referentem gesta priorum,
CN

Gestam referentem priorum ordinem sculpture ipsius.

W.310

Quam rex accipiens haustu vacuaverat uno,
CN*

Quam rex accipiens uno austu vacuaverat.

W.311

Confestimque iubet reliquos imitarier omnes.
CN

Et confestim iubet reliquos omnes tali bibitione imitari.

W.312

Ocius accurrunt pincernae moxque recurrunt,
CN

Tunc citissime accurrunt pincerne () atque recurrunt:

W.313

Pocula plena dabant et inania suscipiebant.

CN***

Pocula plene dabant, et inania suscipiaebant.
suscipiaebant *T*

W.314

Hospitis ac regis certant hortatibus omnes.

CN

Omitted

W.315

Ebrietas fervens tota dominatur in aula

CN*

Ebrietas fervens tota dominatur () aula

W.316

Balbutit madido facundia fusa palato,

CN***

Balbutit madido facundia fusa palato.

W.317

Heroas validos plantis titubare videres.

CN

Seniores fortes videres plantis titubare:

W.318

Taliter in seram produxit bachica noctem

CN***

Taliter in seram produxit bacchica noctem.

W.319

Munera Waltharius retrahitque redire volentes,

CN

Nam ire volentes Waltharius munere retraxit,

W.320

Donec vi potus pressi somnoque gravati

CN

donec () pressi somno potuque gravati

W.321

Passim porticibus sternuntur humotenus omnes.

CN

per porticibus sternuntur humotenus omnes passim.

W.322

Et licet ignicremis vellet dare moenia flammis,

CN

Eciam si tota civitas igne fuisse succensa, et ipse flamivoma
super ipsos crassari videretur, scilicet minitans mortem,

W.323

Nullus, qui causam potuisset scire, remansit.

CN*

Nullus remansit, qui scire potuisset causam.

W.324

Tandem dilectam vocat ad semet mulierem,

CN***

Tandem dilectam vocat ad semet mulierem,

W.325

Praeciens causas citius deferre paratas.

CN***

Preciensi causas citius deferre paratas.

W.326

Ipseque de stabulis victorem duxit equorum,

CN*

Et ipse de stabulis duxit victorem equorum,

W.327

Ob virtutem quem vocitaverat ille Leonem.

CN*

Quem ob virtutem leonem vocitaverat ipse.

W.328

Stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.

CN***

Stat sonipes, ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.

W.329

Hunc postquam faleris solito circumdedit, ecce

CN

Postquam enim hunc caballum ligamentis solito circumdederat, ecce

W.330

Scrinia plena gazae lateri suspendit utrique

CN

Scrinia plena gazae, quibus utrique suspendit lateri

W.331

Atque iteri longo modicella cibaria ponit

CN*

atque itinere longo modicella ponit cibaria,

W.332

Loraque virgineae mandat fluitantia dextrae.

CN***

Loraque virgineae mandat fluitantia dextrae.

W.333

Ipseque lorica vestitus more gigantis

CN***

Ipseque vestit lorica more gygantis,
vestitus *vel* vestitur *T* vestit(?) *T*⁷

W.334

Imposuit capiti rubras cum casside cristas

CN

Atque capiti inposuit suo rubras cum casside cristas,

W.335

Ingentesque ocreis suras complectitur aureis

CN*

Ingentesque () complectitur aureis ocreis

W.336

Et laevum femur ancipiti praecinxerat ense

CN***

Et levum femur ancipiti precinxerat hense,

W.337

Atque alio dextrum pro ritu Pannoniarum:

CN***

Atque alio dextrum pro ritu Pannoniarum.

W.338

Is tamen ex una tantum dat vulnera parte.

CN***

His tamen ex una tantum dat vulnera parte.

W.339

Tunc hastam dextra rapiens clipeumque sinistra

CN***

Tunc hastam dextra rapiens, clipeumque sinistra,

W.340

Cooperat invisa trepidus decedere terra.

CN*

Cooperat invisa terra trepidus decedere.

W.341

Femina duxit equum nonnulla talenta gerentem,
CN***

Femina duxit equum, nonnulla talenta gerentem.

W.342

In manibusque simul virgam tenet ipsa columnam,
Ipsa *PTN*

CN*

Ipsa vero in manibus virgam tenet simul columnam,

W.343

In qua piscator hamum transponit in undam,
CN***

In qua piscator hamum transponit in undam.

W.344

Ut cupiens pastum piscis deglutiat hamum.

CN

Omitted

W.345

Namque gravatus erat vir maximus undique telis
CN*

Nam idem vir maximus gravatus erat undique telis;

W.346

Suspectamque habuit cuncto sibi tempore pugnam.

CN*

Ob hoc suspectam habuit cuncto sibi tempore pugnam.

W.347

Omni nocte quidem properabant currere, sed cum

CN

Sed cum

W.348

Prima rubens terris ostendit lumina Phoebus,
CN*

prima lumina Phoebus rubens terris ostendit,

W.349

In silvis latitare student et opaca requirunt,
CN***

In silvis latitare student, et opaca requirunt.

W.350

Sollicitatque metus vel per loca tuta fatigans.

CN

Omitted

W.351

In tantumque timor muliebria pectora pulsant,

CN

Ergo tantum timor pectora muliebria pulsabat,

W.352

Horreat ut cunctos aurae ventique susurros,

CN*

Ut cunctos susurros, auras vel ventos horreret,

W.353

Formidans volucres collisos sive racemos.

CN*

Formidans collisos racemos sive volucres.

W.354

Hinc odium exilii patriaeque amor incubat inde.

CN

Omitted

W.355

Vicis diffugiunt, speciosa novalia linquunt,

CN***

Vicis diffugiunt, speciosa novalia linquunt,

W.356

Montibus intonsis cursus ambage recurvos

CN***

Montibus intonsis cursos ambage recurvos.

W.357

Sectantes tremulos variant per devia gressus.

CN

Omitted

W.358

Ast urbis populus somno vinoque solutus

sepultus N^2

CN***

Ast urbis populus somno vinoque solutus

solutus T sepultus T^2

W.359

Ad medium lucis siluit recubando sequentis.

CN

Omitted

W.360

Sed postquam surgunt, ductorem quique requirunt,

CN***

Sed postquam surgunt, ductorem quique requirunt.

W.361

Ut grates faciant ac festa laude saluent.

CN***

Ut grates faciant hac festa laude saluent.

W.362

Attila nempe manu caput amplexatus utraque

CN*

Attila nempe utraque manu caput amplexatur,

W.363

Egreditur thalamo rex, Walthariumque dolendo

CN

egrediturque thalamo ipse rex; Waltharium dolendo

W.364

Advocat, ut proprium quereretur forte dolorem.

CN***

advocat, ut proprium quereret forte dolorem.

W.365

Respondent ipsi se non potuisse ministri

CN*

Cui respondent ipsi ministri, se non potuisse

W.366

Invenisse virum, sed princeps sperat eundem

CN*

invenire virum; sed tamen princeps sperat, eundem

W.367

Hactenus in somno tentum recubare quietum

CN

Waltharium in somno quietum recubare tentum hactenus,
sperat vualtharium *T* sperat eundem vualtharium *T'*

W.368

Occultumque locum sibi delegisse sopori.

CN*

hac occultum locum sibi delegisse sopori.

W.369

Ospirin Hiltgundem postquam cognovit abesse

CN

Ospirin vero regina, hoc illi nomen erat, postquam cognovit Hildegunde abesse

W.370

Nec iuxta morem vestes deferre suetum,

CN*

nec vestem deferre iuxta suetum morem,

W.371

Tristior immensis satrapae clamoribus inquit:

CN

tristior satrape inmensis strepens clammoribus dixit:

W.372

“O detestandas, quas heri sumpsimus escas!

CN***

“O detestandas quas heri sumpsimus, escas!

W.373

O vinum, quod Pannonias destruxerat omnes!

CN***

O vinum, quod Pannonias destruxerat omnes!

W.374

Quod domino regi iam dudum praescia dixi,

domno *N*

CN***

Quod domino regi iam dudum prescia dixi,

dno *T*

W.375

Approbat iste dies, quem nos superare nequimus.

CN***

Approbat iste dies, quem nos superare nequimus.

W.376

En hodie imperii vestri cecidissee columna

uri *nicht* nri *V*

CN*

Hen! hodie imperii nostri cecidissee columpna

W.377

Noscitur, en robur procul ivit et inclita virtus:

CN***

Noscitur; hen robur procul ivit et inclita virtus,

W.378

Waltharius lux Pannoniae discesserat inde,

CN***

Waltharius lux Pannoniae discesserat inde;

W.379

Hiltgundem quoque mi caram deduxit alumnam.”

CN***

Hildgundem quoque mi karam deduxit alumpnam!”

W.380

Iam princeps nimia succenditur efferus ira,
offertus *N (undeutlich)*

CN*

Iam princeps efferus nimia succenditur ira.

W.381

Mutant laetitiam maerentia corda priorem.

CN*

Mutant priorem laetitiam merentia corda.

W.382-84

Ex humeris trabeam discindit ad infima totam
Et nunc huc animum tristem, nunc dividit illuc.
Ac velut Aeolicis turbatur arena procellis,

CN

Omitted

W.385

Sic intestinis rex fluctuat undique curis,

CN***

Sic intestinis rex fluctuatur undique curis

W.386-88

Et varium pectus vario simul ore imitatus
Prodedit exterius, quicquid toleraverat intus,
Iraque sermonem permisit promere nullum.

CN

Omitted

W.389

Ipsa quippe die potum fastidit et escam,

CN

Atque ipso quippe die fastidit omnino potus et escam,

W.390

Nec placidam membris potuit dare cura quietem.

CN*

nec placidam curam membris potuit dare quietem.

W.391

Namque ubi nox rebus iam dēpserat atra colores,

CN

At ubi nox () supervenit atra (),

W.392

Decidit in lectum, verum nec lumina clausit,

CN*

Decidit in lectum, ubi nec lumina clausit,

W.393

Nunc latus in dextrum fultus nunc inque sinistrum,

CN

Vertiturque frequenter de latus in latere

W.394

Et veluti iaculo pectus transfixus acuto

CN

Tamquam si iacula () transfixus esset acuta.

W.395-96

Palpitat atque caput huc et mox iactitat illuc,

et modo subrectus fulcro consederat amens.

CN

Omitted

W.397

Nec iuvat hoc, demum surgens discurrit in urbe,

urbe *PTHK urbem BVN*

CN

() **Indeque surgens discurrit in urbem**

W.398

Atque thorum veniens simul attigit atque reliquit.

CN***

Atque thorum veniens simul attigit atque reliquit.

W.399

Taliter insomnem consumpserat Attila noctem.

CN***

Taliter insomnem consumpserat Attila noctem.

W.400

At profugi comites per amica silentia euntes

CN***

At profugi comites per amica silentia euntes.

W.401

Suspectam properant post terga relinquere terram.

CN

Omitted

W.402

Vix tamen erupit cras, rex patribusque vocatis

CN

() **Tunc** rex () votum fecerat, ut

W.403-4

Dixerat: “o si quis mihi Waltharium fugientem
afferat evinctum ceu nequam forte liciscam!

CN

si quis Waltharium illi ()
vinctum afferret ()

W.405

Hunc ego mox auro vestirem saepe recocto

CN*

Mox **illum** aurum vestiret saepe recoctum.

W.406-7

Et tellure quidem stantem hinc inde onerarem
Atque viam penitus clausissem vivo talentis.”

CN

Omitted

W.408

Sed nullus fuit in tanta regione tyrannus

CN

Sed nullus in tam magna regione Fuit **inventus** tyrannus,

W.409

Vel dux sive comes seu miles sive minister,

CN*

() dux sive comes seu miles sive minister,

W.410

Qui, quamvis cuperet proprias ostendere vires

CN*

qui quamvis proprias ostendere cuperet vires,

W.411-12

Ac virtute sua laudem captare perennem

Ambiretque simul gazam infarcire cruminis,

CN

Omitted

W.413

Waltharium tamen iratum praesumpserat armis

CN

Waltharium **aliquando** iratum presumpserit armis

W.414

Insequier strictoque virum mucrone videre.

CN

insequi.

W.415

Nota equidem virtus, experti sunt quoque, quantas

CN

Nota siquidem virtus **eius fuerat facta prope omnibus terrae habitatoribus.**

W.416-418

Incolomis dederit strages sine vulnere victor.

Nec potis est ullum rex persuadere virorum,

Qui promissa velit hac condicione talenta.

CN

Omitted

W.419

Waltharius fugiens, ut dixi, noctibus ivit,

CN*

Qui Waltharius, ut dixi, fugiens noctibus ivit,

W.420

Atque die saltus arbustaque densa requirens

CN*

atque die saltus requirens et arbusta densa.

W.421

Arte accersitas pariter capit arte volucres,
accersita *KN*

CN

Hic vero arte arccersita pariter volucres arte capit.

W.422

Nunc fallens visco, nunc fisso denique ligno.

CN***

nunc fallens visca, nunc fisso denique ligno.

W.423

Ast ubi pervenit, qua flumina curva fluebant,

CN

Similiter in flumina ()

W.424

Immittens hamum rapuit sub gurgite praedam,

CN*

inmittens hamum rapiebat sub gurgitibus predam.

W.425

Atque famis pestem pepulit tolerando laborem.

CN*

Sicque famis pestem pepulit tolerando laborem.

W.426

Namque fugae toto se tempore virginis usu

CN*

Namque toto tempore fugae se virginis usu

W.427

Continuit vir Waltharius laudabilis heros.

CN***

Continuit vir Waltharius laudabilis heros.

W.428

Ecce quater denos sol circumflexerat orbes,

CN

Et ecce quadriginta dies sol per mundum circumflexerat,

W.429

Ex quo Pannonica fuerat digressus ab urbe.

CN***

Ex quo Pannonia fuerat digressus ab urbe.

W.430

Ipsa quippe die, numerum qui clauserat istum,
CN

Ergo eo die, quo numerum clauserat istum,

W.431

Venerat ad fluvium iam vespere tum mediante,
CN*

Venit ad fluvium iam vespere () mediante,

W.432

Scilicet ad Rhenum, qua cursus tendit ad urbem
CN*

Cui nomen est Renum, qua cursus tendit ad urbem

W.433

Nomine Wormatiam regali sede nitentem.
CN***

Nomine Warmatiam, regali sede nitentem.

W.434

Illic pro nullo pisces dedit antea captos
CN***

Illic pro nullo pisces dedit antea captos;

W.435

Et mox transpositus graditur properanter anelus.
CN

Cumque esset transpositus, graditur properanter anelus.

W.436

Orta dies postquam tenebras discusserat atra,
CN

Orta vero dies,

W.437

Portitor exurgens praefatam venit in urbem
CN***

Portitor exurgens praefatam venit in urbem,

W.438

Regalique coco, reliquorum quippe magistro,
CN

Ubi regali coquo, reliquorum certe magistro,

W.439

Detulerat pisces, quos vir dedit ille viator.

CN*

Detulerat pisces, quos vir ille viator dederat.

W.440

Hos dum pigmentis condisset at apposuisset

CN*

Hos vero dum pigmentis condisset et apposuisset

W.441

Regi Gunthario, miratus fatur ab alto:

CN***

Regi Cundhario, miratus fatur ab alto:

W.442

“Istius ergo modi pisces mihi Francia numquam

CN*

“Ergo istius modi pisces mihi Francia numquam

W.443

Ostendit: reor externis a finibus illos.

CN

ostendit.

W.444

Dic mihi quantocius: cuias homo detulit illos?”

CN***

Dic mihi quantotius, cuihas homo detulit illos?”

W.445

Ipseque respondens narrat, quod nauta dedisset.

CN*

At ipse respondens narrat, quod nauta dedisset.

W.446

Accersire hominem princeps praecepit eundem;

CN*

Tunc princeps hominem **iussit** accersire eundem;

W.447

Et, cum venisset, de re quaesitus eadem

CN***

Et cum venisset, de re quesitus eadem

W.448

Talia dicta dedit causamque ex ordine pandit:

CN***

Talia dicta dedit et causam ex ordine pandit:

W.449

“Vespere praeterito residebam litore Rheni

CN*

“Vespere enim praeterito residebam ego littore Rheni.

W.450

Conspexique viatorem propere venientem

CN

Conspexi, et ecce viatorem vidi festinanter venire,

W.451

Et veluti pugnae certum per membra paratum:

CN

Tamquam pugnae () per membra paratum.

W.452

Aere etenim penitus fuerat, rex inclite, cinctus

CN***

Aere etenim poenitus fuerat, rex inclite, cinctus;

W.453

Gesserat et scutum gradiens hastamque coruscam.

CN*

Gerebat namque scutum gradiens, et hastam chruscam.

W.454

Namque viro forti similis fuit, et licet ingens

CN

() Viro certe forti similis fuit, et quamvis ingens

W.455

Asportaret onus, gressum tamen extulit acrem.

CN***

Asportaret honus gressum tamen extulerat acrem.

W.456-458

Hunc incredibili formae decorata nitore

Assequitur calcemque terit iam calce puella.

Ipsaque robustum rexit per lora caballum

CN

Hunc incredibili forme puella decorata nitore

Assequebatur ()

*ipsaque caballum per lora rexit robustum,

W.459

Scrinia bina quidem dorso non parva ferentem,
CN*

bina quidem scrinia non parva ferentem dorso.

W.460

Quae, dum cervicem sonipes discussit altam
CN

Quae **scrinia**, dum cervicem sonipes **ille** discutiebat **ad** altum,

W.461

Atque superba cupit glomerare volumina crurum,
CN*

voluminaque crurum superba glomerare cupiebat,

W.462

Dant sonitum, ceu quis gemmis illiserit aurum.
CN*

dabant sonitum **quasi** quis gemmis illiserit aurum.

W.463

Hic mihi praesentes dederat pro munere pisces.”
CN*

Hic **miles** mihi presentes pro munere dederat pisces.”

W.464

His Hagano auditis – ad mensam quippe resedit –
CN

Cumque his Hagano audisset **verbis** – residebat quippe ad mensam –

W.465

Laetior in medium prompsit de pectore verbum
CN*

Laetus in medium prompsit de pectore verbum:

W.466

“Congaudete mihi quaeso, quia talia novi:
CN***

“Congaudete mihi, queso, qui talia novi.

W.467

Waltharius collega meus remeavit ab Hunis.”
CN***

Waltharius collega meus remeavit ab Hunis.”

W.468

Guntharius princeps ex hac ratione superbus

CN

Cundharius vero princeps atque superbus ex hac ratione

W.469

Vociferatur, et omnis ei mox aula reclamationem:

CN***

Vociferatur, et omnis ei mox aula reclamationem:

W.470-471

“Congaudete mihi iubeo, quia talia vixi!

Gazam, quam Gibicho regi transmisit eoo,

CN

“Congaudete mihi iubeo quia ()

gazam quam Gybichus rex pater meus transmisit Attile regi Hunnorum,

W.472

Nunc mihi cunctipotens huc in mea regna remisit.”

CN*

hanc mihi cunctipotens huc in mea regna remisit.”

W.473

Haec ait et mensam pede perculit exiliensque

CN

Qui cum dixisset talia, mensam pede perculit, et exiliens

W.474

Ducere equum iubet et sella componere sculpta

CN*

ducere aequum iubet et sellam componere ilico sculptam;

W.475-477

Atque omni de plebe viros secum duodenos

Viribus insignes, animis plerumque probatos

Legerat. inter quos simul ire Haganona iubebat.

CN

atque de omni plebe elegit () duodecim viros,

* viribus insignes et plerumque animis probatos,

* () inter quos simul ire Haganone iubebat.

W.478

Qui memor antiquae fidei sociique prioris

CN

Qui Hagano memor antiquae fidei et prioris sotii,

W.479

Nititur a coeptis dominum transvertere rebus.

CN

nitebatur () transvertere rebus.

W.480

Rex tamen econtra nihilominus instat et inquit:

CN

Rex tamen e contra () instat et clamat:

W.481

“Ne tardate, viri, praecingite corpora ferro

CN***

“Ne tardate, viri! praecingite corpora ferro!”

W.482-483

Fortia, squamosus thorax iam terga recondat.

Hic tantum gazae Francis deducat ab oris?”

CN

Omitted

W.484

Instructi telis, nam iussio regis adurget,

CN

Instructi itaque milites telis nam iussio regis urgebat,

W.485

Exibant portis, te Waltharium cupientes

CN

exiebant portis, ut Waltharium caperent,

W.486

cernere et imbellem lucris fraudare putantes.

CN

Omitted

W.487

Sed tamen omnimodis Hagano prohibere studebat,

CN*

sed () omnimodis Hagano prohibere studebat.

W.488

At rex infelix coeptis resipiscere non vult.

CN*

At infelix rex coepto itinere resipiscere non vult.

W.489

Interea vir magnanimus de flumine pergens

CN

Interea vir **inclitus** **atque** **magnanimus** **Waltharius** de flumine pergens

W.490

Venerat in saltum iam tum Vosagum vocitatum.

CN

venerat in silvam Vosagum **ab antiquis temporibus** vocitatum;
in siluam *T* in siluam uosagum *T'*

W.491

Nam nemus est ingens, spatiosum, lustra ferarum

CN

nam nemus est ingens **et** **spatiosum** **atque** **repleta** ferarum

W.492

Plurima habens, suetum canibus resonare tubisque.

CN*

plurima, habens **ibi** suetum canibus resonare tubisque.

W.493

Sunt in secessu bini montesque propinqui,

CN

In ipsa itaque sunt bini montes in secessu **ipsius** atque propinqui,

W.494

Inter quos licet angustum specus extat amoenum,

CNw

in quorum **medium** **quamvis** angustum **sit spatium tamen** specus extat amoenum.

W.495-497

Non tellure cava factum, sed vertice rupum:

Apta quidem statio latronibus illa cruentis.

Angulus hic virides ac vascas gesserat herbas

CN

Omitted

W.498

“Huc,” mox ut vidit iuvenis, “huc” inquit “eamus,

CN*

() mox iuvenis ut vidit, “Huc” inquit, “eamus.”

W.499

His iuvat in castris fessum componere corpus.”

CN

Omitted

W.500

Nam postquam fugiens Avarum discesserat oris,

CN

Nam postquam fugiens Avarorum arvis discesserat,

W.501

Non aliter somni requiem gustaverat idem

CN***

Non aliter somni requiem gustaverat idem,

W.502

Quam super innixus clipeo; vix clauserat orbis.

clausurit *N*

CN*

quam super innixus clipeo vix clauserat oculos.

clausurit *T* clausurat *T*²

W.503

Bellica tum demum deponens pondera dixit

CN

Tum demum bellica deponens arma, dixit

W.504

Virginis in gremium fusus: “circumspice caute,

CN

virgini, in cuius gremium fuerat fusus: “Circumspice caute,

W.505

Hiltgunt, et nebulam si tolli videris atram,

CN***

Hildegund, et nebulam si tolli videris atram,

W.506

Attactu blando me surgere commonitato,

CN***

()tactu blando me surgere commonitato.

W. 507

Et licet ingentem conspexeris ire catervam,

CN

Etiam si magnam conspexeris ire catervam,

W.508

Ne excutias somno subito, mi cara, caveto,

CN

ne subito me excutias a somno, mi kara, caveto; sed

W.509

Nam procul hinc acies potis es transmittere puras.

CN

Omitted

W.510

Instante cunctam circa explora regionem.”

instantē S

CN***

instantem cunctam circa explora regionem.”

W.511

Haec ait atque oculos concluderat ipse nitentes

CN

Haec ait, **statim** oculos concluderat ipse, **desiderantes**

W.512

Iamque diu satis optata fruitur requiete.

CN

frui iamdiu satis optata requie.

W.513

Ast ubi Guntharius vestigia pulvere vidit,

CN***

Ast ubi Cundharius vestigia pulvere vidit,

W.514

Cornipedem rapidum saevis calcaribus urget,

CN***

Cornipedem rapidum saevis calcaribus urguet,

W.515

Exultansque animis frustra sic fatur ad auras:

CN

dicens:

W.516

“Accelerate, viri, iam nunc capietis euntem,

eundem & VN

CN***

“Accelerate viri! iam nunc capietis eundem.

W.517

Numquam hodie effugiet, furata talenta relinquet.”

CN***

Numquam hodie effugiet: furata talenta relinquet.”

W.518

Inclitus at Hagano contra mox reddidit ista:

CN*

Illico inclitus Hagano contra mox reddidit ista:

W.519

“Unum dico tibi, regum fortissime, tantum:

CN

“Unum tantum **verbum** dico tibi regum fortissime:

W.520

Si totiens tu Waltharium pugnasse videres

CN***

Si toties tu Waltharium pugnasse videres,

W.521

Atque nova totiens, quotiens ego, caede furentem,

CN

() Quotiens ego nova () caede furentem,

W.522

Numquam tam facile spoliandum forte putares.

CN***

Numquam tam facile spoliandum forte purares.

W.523

Vidi Pannonias acies, cum bella cierent

egerent *N*

CN*

Vidi Pannonicas acies, cum bella **agerent**

egerent *T*

W.524

Contra Aquilonares sive Australes regiones:

CN***

Contra aquilonares sive australes regiones.

W.525

Illic Waltharius propria virtute coruscus

CN***

Illic Waltharius propria virtute choruscus,

W.526

Hostibus invisus, sociis mirandus obibat:

CN***

Hostibus invisus, sociis mirandus obibat.

W.527

Quisquis ei congressus erat, mox Tartara vidit.

CN***

Quisquis ei congressus erat, mox Tartara vidit.

W.528

O rex et comites, experto credite, quantus

CN***

O rex et comites, experto credite, quantus

W.529

In clipeum surgat quo turbine torqueat hastam.”

qua *PTN*

CN***

In clipeum surgat, qua turbine torqueat hastam.”

W.530

Sed dum Guntharius male sana mente gravatus

CN***

Sed dum Cundharius malesana mente gravatus

W.531

Nequaquam flecti posset, castris propiabant.

CN***

Nequaquam flecti posset, castris propiabant.

W.532

At procul aspiciens Hiltgunt de vertice montis

CN*

At Hiltgunt de vertice montis procul aspiciens,

W.533

Pulvere sublato venientes sensit et ipsum

CN***

Pulvere sublato venientes sensit; () ipsum

W.534

Waltharium placido tactu vigilare monebat.

CN***

Waltharium placido tactu vigilare monebat.

W.535

Qui caput attollens scrutatur, si quis adiret.

CN

Omitted

W.536

Eminus illa refert quendam volitare phalangem.

CN***

Eminus illa refert quendam volitare phalangem.

W.537

Ipsē oculos tersos somni glaucomate purgans

CN*

Ipsē vero oculos tentos summi glaucomate purgans

tersos *T*

W.538

Paulatim rigidos ferro vestiverat artus

CN***

Paulatim rigidos ferro vestiverat artus.

W.539-541

Atque gravem rursus parmam collegit et hastam

Et saliens vacuas ferro transverberat auras

Et celer ad pugnam telis prolusit amaram.

CN

Omitted

W.542

Comminus ecce coruscantes mulier videt hastas

CN

Cumque paululum properassent mulier coruscantes ut vidit hastas,

W.543

Ac stupefacta nimis: “Hunos hic” inquit “habemus,”

CN*

() stupefacta nimis “Hunos hic” inquit “habemus.”

W.544

In terramque cadens effatur talia tristis:

CN*

Que ilico in terram cadens effatur talia tristis:

W.545

“Obsecro mi senior gladio mea colla secentur,

CN

Obsecro, mi senior, () mea colla secentur,

W.546

Ut, quae non merui pacto thalamo sociari

CN

Ut que non merui () thalamo sociari,

W.547

Nullius ulterius patiar consortia carnis.”

CN*

Nullius iam ulterius paciar consorcia carnis.”

W.548-550

Tum iuvenis: “cruor innocuus me tinxerit?” inquit

Et “quo forte modo gladius potis est inimicos

Sternere, tam fidae si nunc non parcit amicae?

CN

Cui Waltharius:

W.551

Absit quod rogitas, mentis depone pavorem.

CN***

“Absit quod rogitas; mentis depone pavorem.

W. 552

Qui me de variis eduxit saepe periculis,

CN*

Ipse Dominus,

qui me de variis sepe eduxit periculis,

W.553

Hic valet hic hostes, credo, confundere nostros.”

CN*

ille valet hic hostes, credo, confundere nostros.”

W.554

Haec ait atque oculos tollens effatur ad ipsam:

CN*

Haec ait, oculosque adtollens effatur ad ipsam:

W.555

“Non assunt Avars hic, sed Franci nebulones,

CN*

“Non assunt hic Avars sed Franci nebulones,

niuilones *T* nebulones *T*’

W.556-58

Cultores regionis,” et en galeam Haganonis

cultones regionis *N*

Aspicit et noscens iniunxit talia ridens:

“Et meus hic socius Hagano college veternus.”

CN

cultores regionis.”

regiones *T*

***Aspexit et gnoscens iniunxit talia ridens:

“En galeam Haganonis!

() meus collega veternus atque socius.”

W.559

Hoc heros dicto introitum stationis adibat,

CN*

Hoc heros () introitum stationis hadibat,

W.560

Inferius stanti praedicens sic mulieri:

CN***

Inferius stanti predicens sic mulieri:

W.561

“Hac coram porta verbum modo iacto superbum:

CN*

“Coram hac porta verbum modo iacto superbum:

W.562

Hinc nullus rediens uxori dicere Francus

CN

Hinc nullus rediens Francus quis suae valeat nunciare uxori;

W.563

Praesumet se impune gazae quid tollere tantae.”

CN

qui tante presumpserit tollere () gazae.”

W.564

Necdum sermonem complevit, humotenus ecce

CN*

Nec dum sermonem compleverat et ecce humo tenus

W.565

Corruit et veniam petiit, quia talia dixit.

qui *N*

CN***

corruit, et veniam petiit qui talia dixit.

W.566

Postquam surrexit, contemplans cautius omnes:

omnes cautius *N*

CN

Postquam autem surrexit, contemplans cautius dixit: “Omnes

W.567-569

“Horum quos video nullum Haganone remoto
Suspicio: namque ille meos per proelia mores
Iam didicit, tenet hic etiam sat callidus artem.

CN

*horum quos video nullum timeo, Haganone remoto.

Nam ille meos per prelia scit mores,

*iamque didicit, tenet et hic etiam sat callidus artem.

W.570

Quam si forte volente deo intercepero solam,

CN***

Quem si forte volente Deo intercepero solum;

W.571

Tunc” ait “ex pugna tibi, Hiltgunt sponsa, reservor.”

CN

ex aliis namque formido nulla.”

W.572

Ast ubi Waltharium tali statione receptum

CN***

Ast ubi Waltharius tali statione receptum

vualtharium *T*

W.573

Conspexit Hagano, satrapae mox ista superbo

CN***

Conspexit Hagano, satrapae mox ista superbo

W.574

Suggestit: “o senior desiste lacescere bello

CN*

Suggestit verba: ‘O senior desiste lacescere bello

W.575

Hunc hominem! pergant primum, qui cuncta requirant,

CN***

Hunc hominem! Pergant primum, qui cuncta requirant,

W.576

Et genus et patriam nomenque locumque relictum

CN***

Et genus et patriam nomenque et locum relictum,

W.577-578

Vel si forte petat pacem sine sanguine praebens

Thesaurum.

CN*

Vel si forte petat pacem prebens sine sanguine.

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